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## MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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### CONTENTS

PAGE

Baltimore and the Embargo: 1807-1809 . . .	<i>John S. Pancake</i>	173
Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County . . .	<i>L. Morris Leisenring</i>	188
"Thomas Copley, Gentleman" . . .	<i>Edwin W. Beitzell</i>	209
An Abolition Martyrdom in Maryland . . .	<i>Hazel C. Wolf</i>	224
Gilmor's Field Report of His Raid in Baltimore County		
	<i>Edited by Geoffrey W. Fielding</i>	234
Reviews of Recent Books . . . . .		245
Notes and Queries . . . . .		264

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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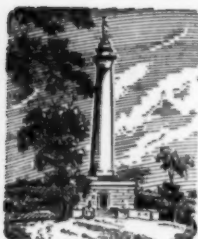
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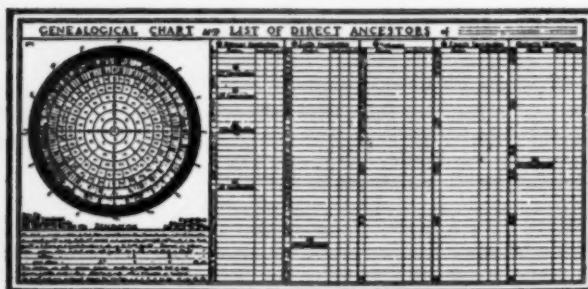
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## BALTIMORE AND THE EMBARGO 1807-1809

By JOHN S. PANCAKE

Our ships all in motion,  
Once whitened the ocean,  
They sail'd and return'd with a *cargo*;  
Now doom'd to decay  
They have fallen a prey  
To Jefferson, worms, and Embargo.<sup>1</sup>

COMMERCIAL-MINDED citizens of Baltimore may have expressed sentiments similar to those in the above verse when the Tenth Congress, in December, 1807, passed the embargo legislation which virtually halted all United States shipping to foreign ports.

This drastic action was taken as the result of a series of incidents and developments in the relations between the United States

<sup>1</sup> *Port Folio*, July 30, 1808, 80. Quoted in full in Walter Wilson Jennings, *The American Embargo* (Iowa City, 1929), 128. It also appeared in the *Boston Repertory* July 15, 1808.

and Europe which were complicated by the great struggle waged by England and her allies against Napoleon. Almost immediately after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens England, fighting desperately for European supremacy, had taken steps to insure her naval and maritime superiority. In doing so she had violated American neutral rights. In the beginning these violations took the form of impressment of American seamen. American commerce flourished, since the United States was virtually the only neutral carrier of food and supplies to the belligerents. England, in retaliation, began a series of restrictions designed to tighten the blockade which she had flung around Napoleon and his allies. She invoked the Rule of 1756 which prevented direct trade between French colonies and the home country. The *Essex* decision, with its "broken voyage" dictum, prevented indirect trade. In looking for violations of these other British regulations, embodied in a series of sweeping Orders in Council, British cruisers hovered off the coast of the United States in such numbers as to constitute a virtual blockade.

Through the years 1805 and 1806 American ships were subjected to search, seizure, and impressment of seamen by high-handed British captains. To a lesser extent they also suffered from depredations by the French. Already Napoleon had declared a paper blockade on England and, while it lacked the rigid enforcement which the British fleet afforded English laws, it gave ample excuse for frequent seizures justified under the allegation of contraband trade with Great Britain.

Efforts to reach some sort of agreement with England failed when President Jefferson rejected the abortive Monroe-Pinckney Treaty of 1806. As the year 1807 opened the French and English attempts at mutual strangulation put the neutral American carriers in the position of being seized by France if they had any dealings (even a stop for search) with the English, and liable to English seizure if they attempted to trade with the Continent without first visiting an English port for clearance. In June, 1807, the American naval frigate *Chesapeake*, clearing the Virginia Capes for her shakedown, was accosted by H.M.S. *Leopard* and ordered to heave to for search. This was the first time that the British had gone so far as to challenge an American man-of-war, and Commodore Barron, the *Chesapeake's* commander, refused the *Leopard's* order. The *Leopard* replied with a broadside and proceeded to batter the

*Chesapeake* into submission. The British commander then boarded her and removed four of the *Chesapeake's* crew, alleged deserters from the British Navy.

The incident rocked the country and public opinion reached a white heat. If Jefferson had wanted war he could have had it at the snap of his fingers. But the President had other plans. For some time he had contemplated the idea of economic coercion, particularly effective, he thought, against a nation so dependent on trade as Great Britain. Allowing angry passions to cool during the summer of 1807 (and also allowing time for England's reaction and possible abatement of her Orders-in-Council), he finally called Congress into special session in the fall of 1807. In December news arrived from England announcing the most sweeping Order in Council yet issued by His Majesty's government. Jefferson immediately sent Congress a message recommending an embargo of all American shipping except that engaged in coast-wise trade.

General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, one of the two Maryland Senators, reported the bill out of committee and pushed it through by a 22 to 6 vote on December 18.<sup>2</sup> Little opposition was encountered in the Senate but in the House the Federalist minority fought back strenuously, particularly the New Englanders. The final vote was 82 to 44 in favor, with Baltimore's William McCreery voting with the majority.<sup>3</sup>

The administration was generally applauded for its action and nowhere more than in Baltimore. Commercial interests in the town were exasperated with the intolerable conditions which prevailed as the result of British and French high-handedness. Senator Smith, himself a prominent merchant, had written the previous summer: "We have lost the *Apollo* near Naples by British capture and the *Rebecca* in the China Seas by same—and the *Ohio* by French capture near Tunis. This is peace like war."<sup>4</sup> The Baltimore *American* applauded the passage of the embargo; "... From the perfidy of the British court, we can place no reliance on her faith, other than the existing commercial connexions between the two countries. . . ." Thinking, as did many others, that

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 10th Congress, 1st session, 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 10th Congress, 1st session, 1221.

<sup>4</sup> Smith to Wilson Cary Nicholas, August 24, 1807. Smith-Carter Papers, University of Virginia.

the embargo might well be the prelude to war, the editor continued stoutly:

If an appeal is made to arms, they will find the flame of '76 not to be extinct. The mere remembrance of the bloody scenes of former days, will inspire Americans with a renovated hatred against the merciless marauder of the seas. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Nor did this opinion appear to be merely temporary enthusiasm for defiance to America's old enemy. After three months of restriction the Baltimore *Evening Post* reported:

Though all lamented the necessity which imposed it, there were few, very few, reflecting men who do not approbate [the embargo]; and for the honor of the people of Baltimore and the information of the *Federalists of Boston*, who presume that every man, formerly of *their* party, MUST be opposed to every measure of the present administration, we feel free to declare, that the late proceedings of the government . . . have met the most general and cordial support—not only from republicans, but from those commonly called *Federalists*.<sup>6</sup>

The enactment of the embargo marked a triumph of Jefferson's personal leadership. Never before had any President demanded such sacrifice of a powerful business group, as well as of the country at large. Said the historian, Henry Adams: "His triumph was almost a marvel; but one could not fail to see the risks."<sup>7</sup> The risks were not only a crippling blow to the nation's economy but the possibility of serious political defection. Federalism might be at a low ebb in national politics but not so on the state level. There were signs that rifts might appear in the Republican party itself if the pressure became too great. Already John Randolph had split with the Sage of Monticello, and he was not at all hesitant in pointing out that Jefferson's policy favored Napoleon and France. "Perhaps the Prince Regent of the *future king* of our country is in this house," he said. And Matthew Lyon of Kentucky said bluntly, "The cat is out of the bag. We are going to fight *Great Britain* at the call of *France*."<sup>8</sup>

Maryland sentiment, as already mentioned, was generally favorable and the state legislature passed a resolution of endorsement.

<sup>5</sup> Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 24, 1807.

<sup>6</sup> Baltimore *Evening Post*, March 23, 1808.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (New York, 1890), IV, 176.

<sup>8</sup> *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), Jan. 9, 1808. (Both Lyon and Randolph quoted.)

But in Maryland, as in New England, the strong remnant of Federalism was immediately and violently vocal. Philip Barton Key denounced the measure on the floor of the House of Representatives<sup>9</sup> and in Baltimore the Federalist press took up the cry. Said the *North American*: "The political intelligence from the great Atlantic States, if it do not warrant entire confidence that the golden principles of FEDERALISM have revived in full vigor and health, at last instructs us that the fatal *Embargo law* threatens fearful ruin to the tottering cause of democracy." As we shall see, the *North American* was not the only observer to forecast the use of anti-embargo sentiment to revive the political hopes of the Federalists. The editor also engaged in some 19th century McCarthyism when he continued: "The good and powerful portion of the people are prepared constitutionally to rise up, in their strength against the destructive policy of our rulers. Let democracy, and her treacherous handmaiden, *French Influence* stand aghast. . . . The guilty may escape retributive vengeance for a while, but Justice will overtake them yet."<sup>10</sup>

But sentiment in Baltimore, as in most of the country, generally applauded the President's action. As Congress adjourned in the early spring of 1808, after having passed supplementary legislation for the enforcement of the embargo, the general feeling was probably close to that expressed by Wilson Cary Nicholas of Virginia to his brother-in-law, General Smith. The alternatives were either war with both powers, in which case defeat seemed certain; alliance with France, a power already "too great for the good of the world"; or alliance with England, in which case the United States would be "helping build her maritime supremacy to the detriment of our own."<sup>11</sup> John Hollins, Baltimore merchant, expressed a similar opinion: "All ranks & degrees at this time are satisfied that it was a measure both proper & well-timed, & which saved the mercantile men from total ruin."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 1st session. 1706 ff.; 2118 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Baltimore North American and Mercantile Daily Advertiser*, May 16, 1808. Quoted in Louis Martin Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo* (Durham, 1927), 223. Barent Gardinier, New York Congressman, made indirect charges that the administration was pursuing a policy dictated by Napoleon. He was also believed to be the author of a letter published in the *New York Evening Post* (Dec. 19, 1807) which made the definite charge that the President was under the influence and dictation of France. Ultimately Gardinier fought a duel with George Campbell of Kentucky and was severely wounded. Adams, *History*, IV, 203.

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas to ———, March 30, 1808. Wilson Cary Nicholas, MSS, Library of Congress.

<sup>12</sup> John Hollins to W. C. Nicholas, April 5, 1808. *Ibid.*

The summer of 1808 found Baltimore beginning to feel the pinch. The importance of Baltimore as a port has been obscured in many accounts of the commercial history of this period and particularly of the embargo itself. This is understandable in view of the fact that the most violent and extreme opposition came from New England. Nor was the latter section modest in proclaiming its commercial importance and the burdens which the embargo imposed upon it. Yet in 1806 1,043 seamen were registered in Baltimore as compared with 1,001 in Boston.<sup>13</sup> Baltimore's exports for the year 1805 amounted to \$7,601,300 out of a total for the United States of \$95,566,021.<sup>14</sup> The combined exports of the ports of Massachusetts amounted to \$19,000,000 while Pennsylvania's exports totaled \$13,700,000 and New York's \$23,000,000. In the years 1806 and 1807 the figure for Baltimore went over the ten million mark, an increase of over 30%. Boston's increase in the same period was appreciably less, about 20%.<sup>15</sup>

The commercial life of Baltimore, then, was considerable and the economic blow struck by the embargo was crippling. In 1808 Baltimore's exports dropped to a pitiful \$1,904,700, a loss of better than 80%. Total exports of the United States in the same period amounted to \$22,430,960.<sup>16</sup> Farmers from nearby districts, particularly from the wheat country of the Monocacy Valley, complained of the lack of a market and of the high cost of manufactured goods.<sup>17</sup> "The Farmer is nearly ruined by Mr. Jefferson's experiments," cried the *Baltimore Federal Republican*, "who cannot sell his crop for half price, and whose grain is rotting upon his hands. . . ." <sup>18</sup> On the Baltimore market prices of imported goods were climbing. The end of the year would find lemons up 168%, high grade brandy up 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %, low grade 50%, and shoes up 15% to 33%.<sup>19</sup>

"The only way for the people to save themselves from ruin is

<sup>13</sup> *American State Papers*, Commerce and Navigation, I, 725.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 672. Figures in the tables consulted give the values for the entire state. The above estimates are based on the assumption that trade of individual ports is in ratio to their registered shipping, the latter being listed by towns. Whether this assumption is entirely correct or not is of no great importance since the purpose for which the figures are used above is primarily to show rates of increase and decrease.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 672, 722.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 739.

<sup>17</sup> *Evening Post*, June 11, 1808.

<sup>18</sup> *Baltimore Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette*, August 22, 1808.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1808.



to turn such unworthy servants out of office and elect men who they know will vote against the embargo and all such measures as are intended to destroy commerce and injure agriculture which is her hand-maid," concluded the *Federal Republican*.<sup>20</sup> Robert Goodloe Harper, staunch Federalist and prominent Baltimore attorney, by way of protest, refused to drill his militia company of artillery during the Fourth of July celebration.<sup>21</sup> But then, as the *Evening Post* pointed out, ". . . toasts given by MERCHANTS of this city . . . generally countenance and support the EMBARGO, while toasts drunk by LAWYERS . . . generally reprehended the measure."<sup>22</sup>

Not the least vociferous of the "Lawyers" was Luther Martin, the old Bulldog of Federalism himself, who attacked the administration under the *nom de plume* of "Honest Politician." The *Evening Post* denounced him as "Luther, Lord of Slander Hall" and suggested a coat-of-arms: "Crest—decanter, *rampant*. Supporters—Dexter fide, *Bibo*, his brows entwined with wine glasses—on the sinister, *Belial*, richly ornamented with the insignia of 'OUR noble and ancient order' of Billingsgate. Motto—for my desserts."<sup>23</sup>

Despite the Federalist attacks and the staggering loss of trade the merchants generally stood firm. "It is the height of folly," said the *Evening Post*, "to assert that the restrictions of the embargo are not hard to be borne—it is the summit of ignorance to believe that the people do not and will not suffer much." But people are still in favor of the measure as the best means to coerce the belligerent powers into concession. This is the view "among some of the greatest shipowners of this port." So Baltimore tightened its belt and determined "bravely to meet the throes and convulsions of the day."<sup>24</sup> It may be well to note that the *Post's* somewhat sanctimonious air was marred by the fact that Baltimore was included in the list of ports which the Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, had reported as having been guilty of violations of the embargo.<sup>25</sup> And John Randolph announced on the floor of the House of Representatives that one hundred thou-

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1808.

<sup>21</sup> *Evening Post*, July 5, 1808.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, July 6, 1808.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13, 1808.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, August 14, 1808.

<sup>25</sup> *American Register* (Philadelphia, 1808-1809), V, 85.

sand barrels of flour were smuggled out of Baltimore during 1808.<sup>26</sup>

As the summer of 1808 passed into fall there was little evidence that the embargo which the Jeffersonian Republicans supported so stoutly was having much effect upon England. Facts and statistics were presented by supporters of the administration to show that its effects on the British Empire were ruinous, particularly in the colonies. Equally numerous were the evidences brought forward by the advocates of repeal to show that its disastrous effects upon the United States were uncompensated by any appreciable effect upon England. Several points may be worth mentioning in this connection.

Circumstances peculiarly fortuitous to England enabled her to find other outlets for her trade. The flight of the royal family of Portugal to Brazil in order to escape the wrath of Napoleon resulted in that colony being thrown open to the trade of the world. Simultaneous outbreaks in the Spanish-American colonies which found Spain herself in the helpless throes of revolution, resulted in the opening of trade in many new areas in South America and the Caribbean. From this standpoint Jefferson's embargo could not have come at a more unpropitious moment for the United States. The *Edinburgh Review* noted the salutary effect of these new trade areas on British commerce: "Had it not been for these circumstances our loss of trade . . . would probably have been double what it actually was. . . ." <sup>27</sup>

Another unfortunate circumstance, from the American point of view, was the unusually good season enjoyed by British farmers. "In regard to Agriculture, we never had a more luxuriant season—Pasture and mowing grass in abundance—the crops of Grain and Potatoes promise well, and notwithstanding the Embargo in the United States, *Wheat* is decreasing in price . . ." wrote an English correspondent to an American friend in July of 1808.<sup>28</sup> There was, in short, no real food pinch. But in other respects the embargo proved more effective. Tobacco jumped from 200% to 265% in price over the 1807 level, cotton more than doubled, and British merchants and manufacturers of these goods suffered accordingly.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 2nd session, 2239.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in Jennings, *Embargo*, 80.

<sup>28</sup> *Boston Gazette*, September 22, 1808. Quoted in Jennings, *Embargo*, 75.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.

There was undoubtedly a good deal of distress among the English working classes. "Probably at least five thousand families of workingmen were reduced to pauperism by the embargo and the decrees of Napoleon," says Henry Adams.<sup>30</sup> But the workingman had no vote and therefore no means of exerting pressure on his government. In any event, England showed no sign of yielding to pressure and granting concessions to the United States.

In this state of affairs Republicans began to feel uneasy and restive, particularly in view of the approaching elections of 1808. Federalists were taking advantage of the discontent among business elements, to make a bid for supremacy. New England in particular was in revolt and, although they were to fail in their attempt to oust Republican Governor James Sullivan, the Federalists gained a decisive majority in the state legislature of Massachusetts.

In Maryland the Federalists were likewise on the march. John Hollins reported to Wilson Cary Nicholas, the Virginia intimate of the President, that although he was confident of a Republican victory the Federalists were gaining ground on an anti-embargo campaign.<sup>31</sup> Hollins would have been wiser to take a more pessimistic view. The impetus which the Federalists received in 1808 culminated in their complete triumph in the state in 1812. Denying all connection with New England's Essex Junto, they gave nine electoral votes to the Republican presidential candidate, James Madison. But at the state level the Federalists gained a majority in the lower house of the state legislature. Baltimore, however, voted solidly Republican, the victory being celebrated with a gin party on Gallows Hill, spirits courtesy of their newly re-elected United States senator, Samuel Smith.<sup>32</sup>

The "lame duck" Congress which assembled in November,

<sup>30</sup> Adams, *History*, IV, 330.

<sup>31</sup> Hollins to Nicholas, September 10, 1808. W. C. Nicholas MSS.

<sup>32</sup> *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Dec. 8, 1808. John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from Its Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 631. Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States, 1788-1821* (New York, 1880), VI, 95. Other indications of Republican weaknesses were evident in the split over the nomination of Madison. Smith and others wanted to support Clinton while a Virginia group rallied behind Monroe. There was also a good deal of animosity between the Smiths and Albert Gallatin. The connection between these rifts and the embargo is, however, tenuous and perhaps even non-existent, although much of it can be traced to the discontent of some Republicans, notably General Smith, with administration of foreign policy. See Henry Adams, *History*, IV, and his *Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1880), 388 ff.

1808, with administration forces still in control, was subjected to increasing pressure. Bitter opposition came from the Federalists, strengthened by the knowledge of their gains in the recent elections. Even the cabinet was feeling the rising temper of discontent. Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, brother of the Maryland Senator, was under heavy fire from the Secretary of the Treasury because his department had not stamped out smuggling. In August he had written to Gallatin:

Most fervently ought we to pray to be relieved from the various embarrassments of this said embargo. Upon it there will in some States, in the next few months, assuredly be engendered monsters. Would that we could be placed on proper ground for calling in this mischief-making busy-body.<sup>33</sup>

But the senator from Baltimore remained firm in his support of the embargo and bade his colleagues be of good cheer. "Britain," he said, "[has] proved in the past that the word of Mr. Canning could not be trusted." Pointing out that he himself had suffered severely from the embargo, he added: "[I] will be the first to ask that it be lifted—when Britain will treat with us on terms compatible with national dignity and security." Then he turned on the carping New Englanders. "The gentlemen from New England protest that it is unfair to that section that they bear the burden for the whole country. Perhaps the gentlemen have never heard of New York which exports more than all New England combined (and where the embargo is favored); or Maryland which exports three-fifths of all the New England States." There was no difference, he said, between regulations made for the United States by the English now and those which they had attempted to impose before 1776.

They forget that we are independent—I trust, Mr. President, that we shall not also forget it. [He concluded:] No doubt shall remain to distant times, of our determination and our ability to have continued resistance; and that no step which could be mistakenly construed into concession, should be taken on our part, while it can be a question, whether the plan devised for our destruction has, or has not, either completely failed or been unequivocally abandoned.<sup>34</sup>

But William Patterson, a prominent Baltimore merchant and brother-in-law of General Smith, wrote with less conviction:

<sup>33</sup> Henry Adams, *Writings of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), I, 396.

<sup>34</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 2nd session, 35-39; 138-161.

"... If continued [the embargo] will bring about a revolution in government & perhaps civil war, at any rate it must throw the government into the hands of the Federalists . . . be assured that this state of things cannot be continued."<sup>35</sup> Patterson may have been rather bitterly remembering his feeling of the previous spring when he had written: "... Every thinking man in the community be him Republican or Federalist sees and knows the propriety and necessity of the embargo . . . [and] it is very desirable that it should be continued until the powers at war shall feel the necessity of changing their conduct towards us. . . . But I have my doubts and fears that the people of this country have not sufficient virtue and perseverance to wait this event."<sup>36</sup>

The administration, far from giving ground before the growing discontent, decided that more rigid enforcement was necessary in order to increase the effectiveness of the embargo. To this end it recommended and Congress passed the Enforcement Act which authorized customs officials to make searches under general warrants. The passage of the un-Republican measure over the bitter opposition of the Federalists once more demonstrated the amazing control which Jefferson held over his party. But the reaction to the bill was violent. In Baltimore the *Federal Republican* savagely hurled back at the Republicans the principles of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. It expressed the belief that the embargo was "a law which is to be enforced at the point of a bayonet [and] will bring on a struggle which may terminate in the overthrow of the government. Our rulers are answerable for the issue."<sup>37</sup> Even the President's closest aides expressed their doubts.<sup>38</sup> But five thousand citizens of Baltimore expressed their approbation of the continuation of the embargo as late as February 1.<sup>39</sup> Yet the end was not far off.

Jefferson himself acknowledged that the embargo could not be continued much longer. Yet he hoped to keep it in force until June 1, hoping against hope that by that date England would make concessions. But on Monday, February 27, 1809, Congress voted the repeal of the embargo and, to Jefferson's chagrin, set March 4, the date of his retirement from office, as the time for the repeal to

<sup>35</sup> To Wilson Cary Nicholas, Dec. 1, 1808. W. C. Nicholas Mss.

<sup>36</sup> To same, May 11, 1808. *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Quoted from the *Federal Republican* in the *Connecticut Courant*, Jan. 18, 1809.

<sup>38</sup> Adams, *History*, IV, 385-387.

<sup>39</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 1, 1808.



go into effect. The entire Maryland delegation, including the embargo's recent vigorous supporter, Senator Smith, voted for repeal.<sup>40</sup>

One is forced to wonder at this rather sudden reversal, since Jefferson had only recently demonstrated the firmness of his control over the party. Based upon Jefferson's report of an interview with John Quincy Adams, written sixteen years after the event, some accounts note Jefferson's comment that he was profoundly disturbed by Adams' expressed conviction that unless the embargo was lifted New England would secede.<sup>41</sup> But at this time Jefferson was eighty-five years old and in the same letter he admitted that his mind was almost blank concerning events of former years.

There is more reliable evidence which has not received sufficient attention. Said the President on the 7th of February, 1809:

I thought that Congress had taken their ground firmly for continuing their embargo till June, and then war. But a sudden and unaccountable revolution of opinion took place last week . . . and in a kind of panic they voted the 4th of March for removing the embargo, and by such a majority as gave all reason to believe that they would not agree either to war or non-intercourse. This, too, after we had become satisfied that the Essex Junto had found their expectation desperate, of inducing the people there either to separation or forcible opposition.<sup>42</sup>

The "unaccountable revolution" was explained afterward.

I ascribe all this to one pseudo-Republican, Story. He came on . . . and staid only a few days; long enough, however, to get complete hold on Bacon, who, giving in to his representations, became panic-struck and communicated his panic to his colleagues, and they to a majority of Congress. They believed in the alternative of repeal or civil war, and produced the fatal measure of repeal.<sup>43</sup>

Both surprise and anger are mirrored in the above words. Surprise that the Republican majority had jumped over the traces, anger that the majority had been intimidated by the threat of secession—a threat which Jefferson believed no longer existed. The party machinery, or at least Jefferson's control over it, had

<sup>40</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 2nd session, 409, 1541.

<sup>41</sup> Jefferson to William Branch Giles, Dec. 25, 1825. *Works* (Memorial Edition), ed. by A. A. Lipscomb and A. E. Bergh (Washington, 1904), XVI, 145.

<sup>42</sup> Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, Feb. 7, 1809. *Ibid.*, XII, 248.

<sup>43</sup> Jefferson to General Henry Dearborn, July 16, 1810. *Ibid.*, XII, 399. The two individuals referred to were Joseph Story and Ezekial Bacon, both Massachusetts Republicans.



momentarily collapsed. The suggestion is here made that it was the pressure of the economic conditions of the embargo upon the structure of the party, not so much in New England, but in the Middle States, in such Republican strongholds as Baltimore, which led the members to accept the "out" supplied by Story and Bacon. Some may really have been convinced that secession was a near-reality. But the Essex Junto had been preaching secession since 1804. The Republican Party had defeated Federalism in New England before. But with the Federalists gaining ground in areas which had hitherto been solidly Republican, with rifts and rents appearing in the party structure itself, the rank and file may well have decided to remove the millstone from their necks as gracefully as possible. Whatever the validity of the above suggestion, party leaders felt the pressure of adherence to the embargo very keenly. In October Wilson Cary Nicholas had conveyed a warning to the President:

If the embargo could be executed and the people submit to it, I have no doubt it is our wisest course; but if the complete execution of it and the support of the people cannot be counted upon, it will neither answer our purpose nor will it be practicable to retain it. Upon both these points I have the strongest doubts. . . .<sup>44</sup>

James Monroe warned Maryland Republican stalwart Joseph Hopper Nicholson on the eve of the 1808 elections:

We are invited with great earnestness to give the incumbents all the support we can,—by which is meant to give them our votes at the approaching election; but it is not certain that we could give effectual support to the person in whose favor it is requested. . . . After what has passed, [the Republican party] has no right to suppose that we will, by voluntary sacrifice, consent to bury ourselves in the same tomb with it.<sup>45</sup>

In other words, if Republican strength in the Middle States went the way of New England, the party was in serious danger of extinction.

Jefferson and the embargo both went out on March 4, 1809. The Baltimore *Federal Republican* exulted:

The people will see that their interests have been betrayed and their rights have been infringed and the sacred provisions of the constitution violated, for the purpose of carrying into effect a visionary scheme, con-

<sup>44</sup> Nicholas to Jefferson, Oct. 20, 1808. Quoted in Adams, *History*, IV, 345.

<sup>45</sup> Monroe to Nicholson, Sept. 24, 1808. Quoted in *Ibid.*, IV, 346.

tinued by the great enemy of the civilized world to prostrate the only barrier which opposes his ambition.—The indignation of an injured people will follow their betrayer to his retreat.<sup>46</sup>

Baltimore ships immediately departed for ports abroad and the commercial life of the town began to revive. Exports for the year 1809 were \$4,638,900, double those of 1808. Baltimore's recovery was slow. While national exports increased over \$14,000,000 for the year 1810 those of Baltimore dropped \$100,000. Nor was there sufficient stimulus to industry, such as had occurred elsewhere, to compensate for the blow to her commercial life.<sup>47</sup> Industrial ventures, such as the Union Manufacturing Company, a cotton mill with a capitalization of one million dollars, were begun in 1808. But during the period only eleven cotton mills were begun in Maryland. Massachusetts founded 54, Pennsylvania 64, New York 26 and Kentucky 15 in the same period.<sup>48</sup> Baltimore might well have agreed with Professor William Jennings when he observed more than a century later that the embargo "stimulated manufactures, injured agriculture, and prostrated commerce."<sup>49</sup>

Even such a brief survey as the present one suggests the conclusion that the pressure of the embargo on commercial interests in Baltimore and other Middle Atlantic ports had a political importance which was far greater than that assigned by many historians. In assessing reaction to the embargo the eye is at once caught by the vituperative rage of New England with the result that the political effect and influence of other commercial areas has been underestimated.<sup>50</sup> It is here suggested that it was the

<sup>46</sup> *Federal Republican*, March 3, 1809.

<sup>47</sup> *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigations*, I, 816.

<sup>48</sup> Jennings, *Embargo*, 173-174; 179.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, Professor Jennings, in *The American Embargo*, refers to 39 New England newspapers as against 21 from all other sections (including two from Maryland) in his chapter entitled "Attitude of the United States Toward the Embargo." In the chapter "Growing Opposition to the Embargo Finally Forces Repeal" he uses 52 New England sources versus 23 from all other sections. Yet in 1807 New York alone exported more than all New England combined. The exports of Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia together totalled as much as New England. Even Professor Thomas Bailey, in his brief treatment of the subject in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, cites six New England sources as against two from other sections, although he points out that the "South and West, though probably even harder hit by losing the export market for their agricultural produce, complained the least" (p. 120) Such a criticism of Professor Bailey's book, of course, leaves out of account his excellent use of secondary sources,

ominous note of discontent from the Middle States and the South, less noisome but far more serious to finely tuned political ears, that led to the Republican revolt and the repeal of the embargo on March 4. Events proved that the strain on the party was serious when, in the years that followed, Madison was beset by the Smith faction and the War Hawks, and Maryland and even Baltimore went over to the Federalists.

such as Sears' and Jennings' works and articles like G. R. Taylor, "Agrarian Discontent in the Mississippi Valley preceding the War of 1812," in the *Journal of Political Economy* (XXIX, 1931), to name only a few.

## TULIP HILL, ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

By L. MORRIS LEISENRING

THE new colony of Providence on the Severn was established in 1649 by a group of Puritans not happily settled in Virginia. That same year the Act of Toleration was passed by the General Assembly. The liberal Act, and the final reconciliation of the militantly independent new colony with the authoritative proprietary government, led far-seeing members of the Society of Friends to build their homes and establish their meetings in this area of great natural advantages.<sup>1</sup>

Among these, from England in 1649 came Richard Galloway, the great-grandfather of the Samuel Galloway who built Tulip Hill a century later. He took up by patent "Galloway's," a tract of 250 acres back from the shore line,<sup>2</sup> near where West River Meeting was established in 1672 and the Old Quaker Burying Ground is still actively maintained. Through his sons Richard and Samuel the early colonial homesteads of Cedar Park and Sudley came into the Galloway line after the capital of the Province was transferred to Annapolis in 1694 and the settlement of Providence erected into the County of Anne Arundel in 1650.

With the capital of the Province established nearby, gentlemen's estates began to rim the waters of the upper Chesapeake and its then navigable salt-water rivers so that William Eddis, Surveyor of the Customs of Annapolis, could write home to England in 1769 and say "Annapolis is nearly encompassed by the river Severn. . . . The adjacent country presents a variety of beautiful

<sup>1</sup> Gratefully acknowledgment is made for assistance given me in the preparation of this article by Mr. J. Reaney Kelly, who made available his notes and material collected for a number of years bearing on the history of West River, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis R. Andrews, Mrs. Henry H. Flather, Mrs. Eliza H. Crowther, Mr. Edwin B. Davis, Miss Agnes Mayo, and members of the staffs of the Maryland Historical Society and the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> Surveyed December 4, 1662. See Calvert Paper No. 883, p. 19 (Anne Arundel County Rent Roll), Maryland Historical Society.

prospects, agreeably diversified with well settled plantations, lofty woods, and navigable waters." <sup>3</sup> He found the villas pleasant and beautiful. <sup>4</sup>

The number of Quaker families settling through Anne Arundel and other provincial counties was large, for, freed from the rigors of the Church of England in Virginia and the Puritanism of New England, with the nearby Friends in Pennsylvania, this haven of tolerance was an earnest for spiritual tranquillity and temporal prosperity. Prosperity came to many but tranquillity was not always in the Meetings which strove to shield their members from the less inhibited pursuits of others in the locality.

Tulip Hill is a result of the happy union of two of the most militant of the Anne Arundel Quaker families, the Galloways and the Chews. Samuel Galloway married Anne the daughter of Dr. Samuel Chew of Maidstone about 1744; she was nineteen, and he twenty-four. Of their four surviving children, Mary, born 1746, married Thomas Ringgold, Jr.; John, born 1748, married Sarah Chew and inherited Tulip Hill from his father; Benjamin, born 1752, married Henrietta Chew; Anne, born 1755, married James Cheston. <sup>5</sup>

Samuel had purchased the old Talbot patent of "Poplar Knowle," 260 acres lying south of Cedar Park with water frontage on West River and Brown's Creek. Title had passed to him in December, 1755. He and Anne renamed the property "Tulip Hill," keeping in the new name the tradition of the grove of grand old tulip poplar trees, many still standing with ages up to 300 years. <sup>6</sup>

No date has been recorded for the breaking of ground for the new house. Samuel had recently returned from business in England. Their youngest surviving child, Anne, was born February 14, 1755. Samuel's journal of April, 1756, credits John Deavour as follows: <sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> William Eddis, *Letters from America* (1792). p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (1841), p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> L. B. Thomas, *The Thomas Book* (1896), p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> See letter from Joseph Galloway to Samuel Galloway, dated 1755, Galloway-Maxy-Markoe Papers (hereafter called Galloway Papers), Library of Congress, II, No. 8167.

<sup>7</sup> Original journal now in possession of Miss Anne Cheston Murray of Ivy Neck, Anne Arundel County.

By making and laying in my house 124,938 bricks at 20/	124 - 18 - 19
By making a caboose . . . . .	- 10 -
" making Lime Kill & Brick . . . . .	1 - 15 -
" Stone work . . . . .	1 - 18 - 1
" making 18 m Brick at 4/ . . . . .	3 - 16 -

Apparently by that date the project was well underway. A survey of the cubic areas of the great house (the central section only) checks closely indeed with the approximately 143,000 brick ordered. As the foundations of the exterior walls are of quarry stone, from basement floor to grade, the allowance of only one pound, eighteen shillings, one penny, seems grossly inadequate, but this may not be the whole story. Just what the "caboose" was is a question. Dictionaries say "a deck-house or galley on ships" or "a booth, hut, store room." At any rate it cost only ten shillings. Perhaps it was a workmen's hut to store building materials. Samuel was a seafaring merchant who owned many ships, and it would be natural for him to use nautical terms. One can sense the joy and interest of the young owners as this work progressed, but unfortunately Samuel and Ann were not to occupy together the home they had planned. The *Maryland Gazette* of December 23, 1756, carried the following notice: "Annapolis, December 23. Last Week died in Child-Bed, at *West River*, Mrs. Anne Galloway, Consort of Mr. Samuel Galloway, Merchant; a gentlewoman possess'd of every virtuous and amiable Quality."

Samuel did not remarry. He finished the main central section of his house by degrees. He was a keen and prosperous merchant, owner of lands and slaves and of many ships in foreign and coast-wise trade; the *Tulip*, the *Grove*, the *Planter*, the *Swallow* and others.<sup>8</sup> As he seemed to draw away from the Meeting at the cross-roads where his grandmother "Mistress Ann" had been a regular Preacher, he assembled a stable of speedy racers, among them the famous stallion *Selam*, and these were his particular pride and interest. But he built his house with expressed sentiment for Anne and for the tulip trees for which they had renamed it.

It is interesting that Samuel and Anne seem to be the only ones who named their home for the *flower* of this splendid tree that had so impressed the settlers on the middle Atlantic shores. The

<sup>8</sup> There are many references to his ships in the Galloway Papers and the Bartlett Papers, also in the Library of Congress, and there is a list of his ships in Box 1 of the Galloway Papers.



*Tulip Tree* (*Liriodendron Tulipifera*), unknown to the English in Europe, which they called a poplar though not a true poplar,<sup>9</sup> was so striking and unusual to them as it towered with straight trunks in the forests, stood in groves or as a single wide branched sentinel, that they gave its name "Poplar" to many homesteads and locations.<sup>10</sup>

Not only did he use the flower motif in his carvings and decoration, but he framed the floors and trussed the roofs of the central building with the wood timbers of the poplars in the nearby forests, building his tulip trees into his home for structural stability as well as sentiment.

Samuel did not build the wings. The large central section with the usual dependent minor buildings was sufficient for his family and for the entertainment of friends and travellers while he, more merchant and landowner than planter, was often in Annapolis where he conducted his many enterprises.

The house he built, however, was particularly well adapted for extension into the five-part plan that it grew to be—sometimes called "big house, little house, colonnade and kitchen"—suited well the life of the country gentleman of affairs that John, the son and heir, enjoyed. Also, it fitted its site and surroundings. The wings we can fairly credit to John, from surviving documents, fragmentary but convincing.<sup>11</sup> The result was a house of beauty and charm.

Charm is a quality difficult to define but in truth we find it here, for even without the striking beauty of its setting and surroundings, the character of the old house itself has been so felt by many who have written of it that they slip into superlatives in describing it. Actually, Tulip Hill is not so important historically, so impressive a structure, nor so pure in its architectural style as others described in terms less warm and with much more critical analysis.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Beverley in *The History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 123, writes of "the large Tulip-Tree, which we call a Poplar. . . ."

<sup>10</sup> "Poplar Hill Hundred was one of the earliest settlements after St. Mary's; Poplar Hill Creek puts in just west of Mulberry Fields' water-front; and Poplar Hill Church was the second Protestant church building in Maryland." Paul Wiltach, *Potomac Landings* (1921), p. 94. Consider as well Poplar Knowle, Anne Arundel; Poplar Hill in Prince George's; Poplar Hill Mansion, Wicomico; Poplar Grove, Queen Anne's; Poplar Grove, Somerset; Poplar Neck, Cecil; Poplar Spring and Poplar Island, Talbot. There is one such name in each Bay county where this dominating tree gave character and identity to the locality—but only one "Tulip Hill."

<sup>11</sup> Many letters and documents in the Galloway and the Bartlett papers establish this fact to my satisfaction.

Noteworthy here is the informal use of motifs, slight variations from exact symmetry, the unexpected deviations from generally accepted ways of doing things, even the contrast of the crudely laid running bond of the brickwork of the wings with the fine Flemish bond of the great house. These variations may find response in subconscious aversion to regimentation and over-formality, these may be the soft influences affecting those fallen under its spell. And this grows as one becomes an acquaintance of the old house and of the stories of those who built and lived in it.

If seen first from the river, on its hill above the broad meadows, one is impressed by it as a place of great importance and is tempted to mount at once the steep bank where were the old dock and steps leading to the narrow tree-lined lane and to continue for almost a mile, straight up to the foot of the terraced gardens. This was once a frequent approach for visitors from across the bay and other shore-line points. Some supplies were brought in this way, though heavier loadings came and went from West River landing. It is still possible to view Tulip Hill from the river for, although the fishing industry has pressed close to this old approach, houses have been built facing it on the river's east shore. The river is a welcome harbor for small boats when the bay is stormy.

By the time the first unit of Tulip Hill was built, approach by water was not necessary for the Assembly had placed on the counties the responsibility of building passable roads or "High-ways." In 1695 the regular post route and road was established from Port Tobacco on the Potomac through Upper Marlborough and by the ferry at London Towne on South River to Annapolis and on to Philadelphia. Then with the road from Annapolis to Prince Frederick and the Muddy Creek Road nearer the shore, down to Herring Bay, the visitor would find his entrance much as he will today.

On this road at the crossroad leading to the river, is and has been since 1672 the Quaker Burying Ground where lie the bones of those generations of Friends who brooked no stone but "lie unmarked" in this hallowed spot. The frame meeting house is long since gone, its location indicated by an iron chain and by the markers and monuments of later generations. Here was the West River Meeting, one of the two most potent in Maryland.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The other was at Tred Avon across the Bay where the meeting house still stands.

No record has been found to show that Anne and Samuel were members at West River though their children may have belonged to St. James Parish, Anne Arundel.<sup>13</sup> Samuel and Anne now lie with many of their relatives and Tulip Hill's later owners in the family burial plot not far from the house itself.

The approach to Tulip Hill is through a gateway on this old road—now a highway—up a slight grade through trees and shrubbery on a curving driveway, some 300 yards, till the house appears over a broad stretch of turf, framed in poplars, firs and beechwood. Here at the end of a level plateau it is placed where the ground falls away sharply on three sides permitting grade entrances at the level of the basement floor of the end pavillions and a full basement under the entire 135 feet of its longest dimensions. On the river front a broad parterre of turf at the same level as at the entrance extends the full length of the building before the first of the four "Falles"<sup>14</sup> with their intermediate terraces of turf or flowers leads down to the meadowland some fifty feet below. The plateau lies pointing roughly to the southeast toward the river and so the house was oriented, following the natural grades of the land and with a view over West River to the eastern shores of the Chesapeake.

The original great or central section, 52 by 42 feet, rises two full stories with high unfinished attic space under its hipped roof, "double hipped" or "hip over hip," as sometimes called. In the wings the two end pavillions, each 20 by 24 feet, have two stories of lower height than the main section. The two connecting curtains, each 19 by 19 feet, are of one story with very low attic space. As in all true five-part houses access from the wings to the main building is at the first floor only, here down one step to the wings. Access to the left wing was also at the basement level, out to the barn and stable areas, but the basement of the right wing was not opened into the older main section, indicating that this wing which led at the basement level and by outside steps from the first floor level, to the domestic dependencies, was the place for house servants and not given too free access to all parts of the building.

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Kelly has found no record of Samuel or Anne in a search of the records of the West River Meeting at Homewood and Stoney Run.

<sup>14</sup> The term "Falls" for terraces appears to be restricted to Maryland and Virginia.

This five-part plan, suited so well to the life of the gentleman planter and man of affairs with family and with obligations, was the pattern for many of the mansions of the surrounding countryside, extending even into the streets of Annapolis and the outskirts of Baltimore. With the "big house" for family and entertaining, one wing for service and the other for offices and the constant inflow of passing travelling friends, this plan met the life pattern of the times, not practicable in earlier simpler days.

At Tulip Hill the plan of the right wing shows definitely its use for service. The left wing with its inconspicuous corner door and steps direct from the entrance front to the large first floor office room and access from the plantation area by stairway through the basement, indicates the use of this wing for management and affairs, while its pleasant access from the drawing rooms and from the garden terrace made it available for the lodging of guests in its upper room.

But before the construction of the wings, Samuel Galloway's original central building had no provision for kitchen or other services inside its walls and the then general use of nearby dependent buildings, some brick, some frame, as indicated here, was necessary. All of these have entirely disappeared except the old smoke house and the foundations of the old ice house partly supporting a garage. An interesting reference to an evident dependent kitchen building is found in a loose document in the Bartlett Papers now in the Library of Congress, a bill and an apparent receipt from one Will Lucas to Samuel Galloway:

Jany, 20, 1758.

To mending the Chamber Chimney in the Citching  
to laying the Citching floor  
to mending of three arches in the grate house  
to laying the four harths in the grate house  
to building up the steps of the grate house  
to building up the other steps  
to making a partition wall in the seller  
to burning of seven thousand Bricks that was made before  
Acct of Receipt 5-19-6

Will Lucas.

Among these same papers the following document that seems to show the slow progress in the completion of the "grate" house:

Saml Galloway Dr

To Framing and Shingling your house

Trough and Upper Flore, a 10/ per squ[ar]es

100

being 91 50 £45.15.10

To the puting together the two

Lower Flore's, 7.14. 0

To bal[ance]s due in the Ship Yard 8. 9.10

To 41 days work a 5/ 10. 5. 9

To 49 days my boy a 40/ per month 3. 0. 0

To plank 0.11. 0

To work 1. 0. 0

£76.14.10

Errors Excep[ted] Nov. 21st 1758

James Trotter

No authentic data exist as to the origin of the design for the house as first planned, nor of its architect and its architectural ancestry. It bears no relation to Cedar Park, the Galloway house nearby, so full of the traditions of Old England, nor to Sudley, another neighbor; nor to Herrington on Herring Bay, nor to Maidstone, Anne's home, both homesteads of the Chews in Calvert County. These were the simplest type of low-wall high-roof early Maryland plantation houses. Tulip Hill with its two stories of clear wall heights, its hipped roof with massive towering interior grouped chimneys was one of the first of its type in this neighborhood.<sup>15</sup>

As one considers the contacts of Samuel and Anne with the Chews and their Quaker friends and relatives in Philadelphia, Germantown, and vicinity one is impelled to associate the plan and mass of the main building of Tulip Hill, 52 by 42 feet, with two of the earlier homes of prominent members of the Society of Friends in the Philadelphia area, Hope Lodge built in 1723 at White Marsh Village and Stenton in Germantown, 52 by 40 feet built in 1728. Both of these have interior grouped chimneys, high hipped roofs with flatter decks, doors from several of the first floor rooms direct to the exterior for access to dependencies, though

<sup>15</sup> Its early Georgian character is antedated in Maryland only by Poplar Grove (His Lordship's Kindness) in Prince George's County, a five-part house with no similarity as to plan of the central unit, though it has broken roof lines and centrally grouped chimneys unlike the typical four on the end walls carried up above the roof ridge.

here these are in the rear suiting the location, while Tulip Hill has no choice but to extend them to each end. Most significant of all is the service stair at Stenton where it winds from first floor to attic in the space formed by the depth of the chimneys between front and rear rooms. Stenton and Tulip Hill seem to be the only houses of their time and dimensions in which this is found. The small detail of a watertable at the first floor on the main front only is a feature of all three. Their austerity in design of detail gives some point to the thought that Tulip Hill may have been similarly lacking in some of its present lighter elements until the Quaker influence had wavered there. All have finely panelled rooms and in one of these at Hope Lodge an elliptical fireplace arch has the fine Dutch tiles cut to fit without reference to their decorated faces just as has one fireplace at Tulip Hill.

More famous historically, and much more sophisticated and elaborate than any of these, yet so similar in plan and general mass as to make one of the four, is Cliveden, 54 by 44 feet built in 1763 by Benjamin Chew, brother of Anne of Tulip Hill<sup>16</sup> In each of these four houses, central fireplace chimneys are grouped and extend through their roofs in dominating masses of brickwork.

As we think of Philadelphia we may remember that Samuel Galloway spent many days of his later years with his relatives there and particularly while exciting things were happening at Annapolis in the fall of 1774. His son John wrote him frequently of business, family and current affairs, his letters having the salutation "Hon Sir" and signed "Yr. Obt. Son." One extremely interesting paper, which bears no address nor signature, but with the same salutation, "Hon Sir," written by the same hand, gives a full and vivid account of the burning at Annapolis of the *Peggy Stewart*. This letter, dated Tulip Hill, Thursday morning, Oct. 20th., 1774, was evidently another of his letters to his Father during the fall months of that year.<sup>17</sup>

It was in these fall months of 1774 that the Continental Congress met and Samuel's cousin Joseph Galloway, Quaker, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, showed such conservatism that he

<sup>16</sup> Cliveden is the only dwelling house that has the distinction of being the central point of a battle of the Revolution, the Battle of Germantown.

<sup>17</sup> Original owned by Miss Anne Cheston Murray of Ivy Neck; photostat in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

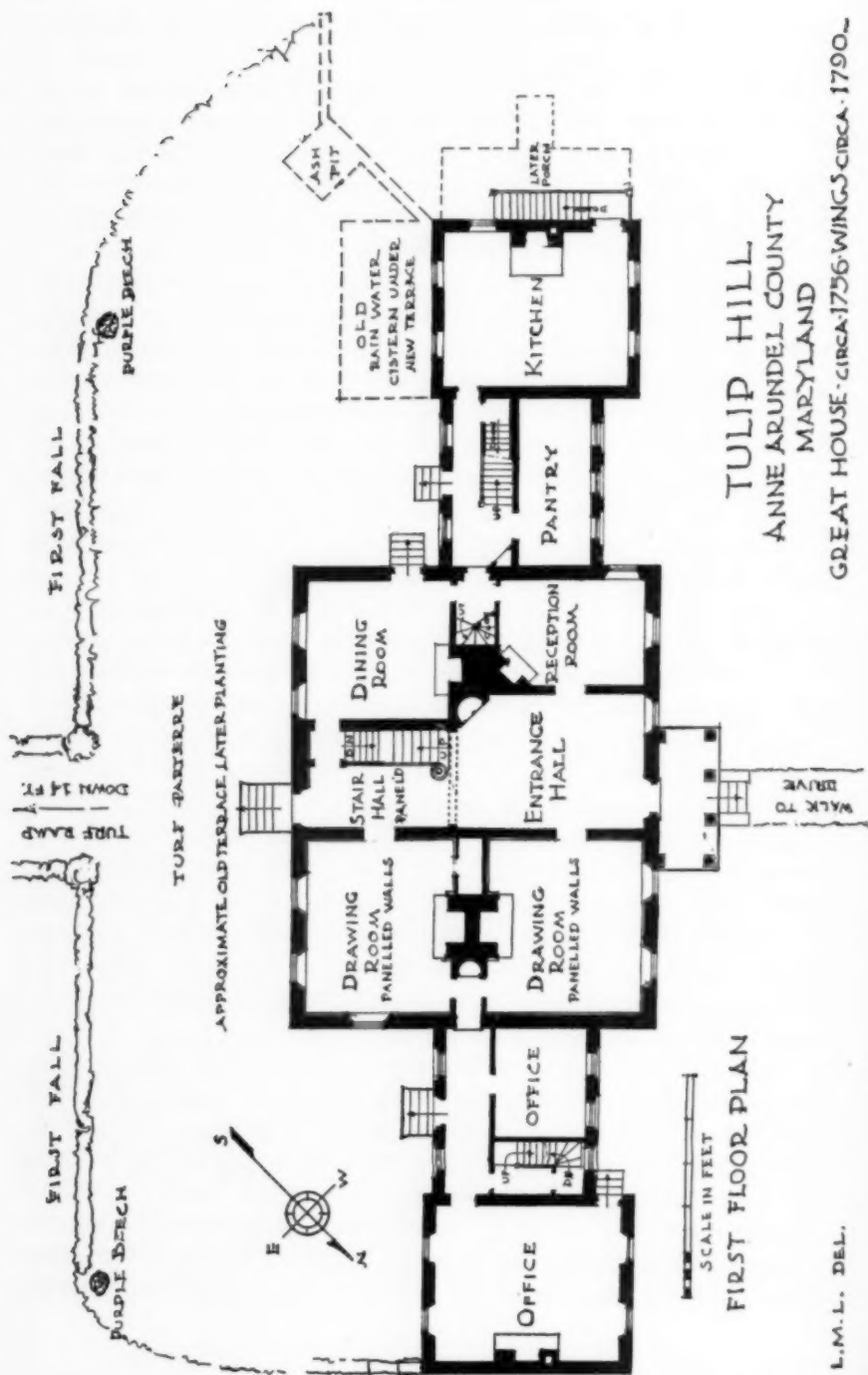


was ultimately branded "Tory" and went to England where he died.

At Tulip Hill the entrance porch is much later than the main building, perhaps of the same date as the end wings, particularly as the Portland stone steps at the river entrance to the left wing have apparently been moved there from their original position at the main entrance where the old doors are still the duplicates of those at the main entrance from the river side though the transom here has been added with the later porch. The porch is somewhat crowded between windows but is fine in its proportions and the chaste Georgian details of the pediment and entablature. The rather crude moulding details of the capitals and bases of the columns, which are reminiscent of years as late as the 1840's, are difficult to explain. The brick wall between the end pilasters of the porch has been plastered and painted to the advantage of the whole. The benign and suavely carved Cupid who beams at you from the pediment is another evidence of the sentiment for their house shown by the builders of Tulip Hill.

Today, as one mounts the porch steps, his gaze is at once delighted by the view directly through glazed doors to the garden beyond and the river in the distance. The old solid panel doors are still there but not closed and heavily barred as was once safest practice. Inside, then as now, one's immediate attention would focus on the great hall, off center to provide ample gathering space for arrivals. The stairway mounts immediately to its landing and with a return to the second floor, with panelled walls and soffits, widths of treads and height of risers most carefully designed for comfortable use and fine proportion. The step ends are masterfully deep carved, with unusually fine walnut rail and sturdy balusters, three to each tread, carved with vigor and delicacy, tiny tulip flowers filling the interstices of the conventional motif at the center point of their height.

Visitors are intrigued by the large shell crowned cabinet set in the corner space of the offset between the entrance and stair halls, so suited for display of household treasures. With shelf and cabinet beneath, this extends the full height of the hallway and is one of the most frequently noted of the house's interests. But the most unusual of the architectural features is the double pendent arch spanning the stairway, forming a most satisfactory division of the stair from the entrance hall. There is no such



feature in any other building of this entire neighborhood. There is a double pendent arch of flattened ellipses over the stairway of Gunston Hall in Virginia with a carved pineapple drop at the meeting but, though more elaborately ornamented, it is not the equal in beauty of form to the full half arches at Tulip Hill with the meeting point used for a shell-like carving forming a crown for a hanging lighting fixture. This similarity in use of an unusual motif raises a question of architectural authorship that may best be discussed after better acquaintance with the house.

The entrance hall is not panelled, nor is the small ante- or reception room opening to the right. There is access from this room into the dining room through a small passage the width of the double chimney's depth and originally through an exterior door that once led to dependencies but now leads to the services in the right wing. From this passage rises a winding stair of unbelievably limited space and headroom allowance, fitted to the chimney depth, as that at Stenton. Here it winds around a one piece poplar center post all of thirty feet from the first floor to above the floor of the attic, giving servants access to the upper floors, a convenience that many four-room house plans of similar importance were without.

The dining room in the southwest corner of the main building is reached more directly from the stair hall, under the stair landing. This room, about sixteen feet square has two large windows toward the river and badly needed one toward the southwest but here an apparently original door led direct to the exterior. The only direct service from the basement to the first floor was under the main stair and its landing just at the door to the dining room.

The two finely proportioned and fully panelled drawing rooms to the left of the entrance and stair halls, each about twenty by seventeen feet, were joined by small doors in the panelling near the exterior wall and in the space beyond their chimneys another door originally led to the exterior. A small shell top cabinet fits the end of this narrow passage, which now gives access to the office or left wing. The room toward the river has three windows, two at the river front and one at the side. The room toward the entrance has but two with none at the side. If there had been it would have been covered by the present wing. Thus by the window and doors at each side of the original plan, in spite of first convictions to the contrary, the thought persists that the possibility

of future wings may have influenced the construction of the "Grate" house, as the central section was so often called.

The rooms on the second floor practically repeat in size those directly below and for the most part their window spacing. As in most such plans, the partitions that separate the main halls from the rooms carry up from basement to attic as solid masonry though they serve only partially to support the main roof trusses that span from the walls of the two main fronts. The main stairway ends at the second floor in a broad hall adequate for the armoires and clothes presses usual to the time. But as so often happened as families grew, a small room was formed at the end, from its materials almost an original, for the partition was of wide floor boards set on end and both sides plastered on split laths.

The two larger chambers are fully panelled much like those below them. They seem to have had a rather intimate arrangement of combined closet and passage, formed also by the depth of the massive chimneys. The small window looking northeast from a closet-passage has scratched on one original glass pane the names of a few of the old family and friends. Not too distinctly these names appear to be A. Ringold, & S. Tilgham, M. Carroll 1772, A. Galloway, and P. Norris (?).

The fact that things happened gradually in its building is rather definitely shown, for though the panelling seems to form so much a part of the partitioning in some of the rooms, it must have been added later in at least one room for under it in the large southeast chamber, there has been found a beautiful English block wall paper in Quaker grays, mauves and browns, and best of all, the tulip flower prominent in its pattern. No paper has appeared elsewhere under panelling or on painted or lime-washed walls. It would seem that this room was considered of special importance.

All of the first and second floor rooms of the main house had deep full-throated fireplaces lined with very rough brickwork on back and sides covered with lime plaster thick enough to be troweled to deflect heat to the room but carefully formed and splayed to direct smoke upward. After two hundred years use as the only heating elements in the building, these plastered recesses were basically sound. The fireplaces were faced with ancient Dutch tiles or with marble, and were framed with wood panelling.



DETAIL OF ENTRANCE FRONT



ENTRANCE, RIVER FRONT





THE RIVER FRONT AND FIRST "FALL "



GARDEN AND RIVER



The Dove, a Rose and the Initial  
("G" or "C"?)



The Tulip of the Canopy



One of the Matched Wood Blocks



The Cupid

DETAILS OF WOOD CARVINGS, TULIP HILL

The windows in all the rooms have deep panelled jambs and soffits, architraves to the floor, the jambs splayed, and with window seats below the sills, a detail typical in this part of Maryland. The sash are all the Dutch-English "guillotine" type, twelve-lights, six in the upper, six in the lower, each glass 12 by 10 inches, with muntins rather slender for the period, the top sash fixed, the lower with no mechanical means to operate or hold in place.

Doors to the rooms are wide and low,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick, with the usual six panels, wide lock-rail, large rim locks, H or H-L flush hinges, jambs and heads panelled to line with door panels, wide and heavy moulded architraves. All doors, panelling, floorboards and stair treads were of heart long leaf pine, once to be had in the neighborhood but for the most part brought from the south. The floor boards were of varying but not extreme widths. Those of the second and attic floors, where the poplar joists were very uneven as to their hewn depths but set to give a true line for the ceilings, were shimmed or draped considerably to gain an even surfaced floor.

The detail and finish of the wings was very similar to the main section, though at a reduced scale. A feature of the connecting "curtains" was the flush panel inside shutters to the doors and all windows with long throw-over iron strap bolts the width of the openings, though these were not used in the main section nor in the pavillions.

Attics may be interesting and this one, over the original center section, is. Reached by the single steep winding stair, pierced by the great bulk of the two chimney groups, it is a study in huge hewn and framed timbers, each truss member numbered with old Roman numerals, as laid out flat before erection and secured in place with hardwood pins of unusual length. It is well lighted with two A-roofed eight paned dormers on the two sides, the circular lead came window in the front pediment, and two four paned windows toward the river, roofed by the pitch of the upper roof slope, unusual for this period but in the original framing pattern, as is also the front pediment. None of the original framing timbers have been cut for these, which seems to show them as part of a complete design.

A small lookout deck has been cleverly cut back into the roof slope on the river front by a comparatively recent former owner, with steps from the attic floor, and the "captain's" or "widow's"

walk is a pleasant spot from which to have a heightened view over the river and the bay to the distant Eastern Shore.

It is said servants were quartered in this attic but the only partition is of wide rough boarding with a battened door secured by an enormous rim lock with wood casings in which are inserted six false key-holes and only one that will open to the presumably authorized person. Nothing has remained in this strong room but some minor artifacts, discarded hardware, an implement or two, but in an old house every such memento may be revealing.

As to the exterior, there is no question as to the main front of the house and the fact that the general approach was from the highway. The central pediment is evidence of this, and the importance given to it with its very unusual decorative treatment, the large lunette, its boldly carved and still nearly perfect wood key block and two panel inserts, beautifully placed, with their emblems of the crown, the dove, and the rose (the tulip is lacking here) but most significant, the initial in the key which it seems might be, most sentimentally, a "C" for Anne's name "Chew" or it might be a "G" for their name "Galloway." The illustrations will let the reader make the choice. The cornice of both center and wings has modillions added on this front only though the projections are the same on the sides. This evidently was an addition to emphasize the façade's importance.

The river front is the most charming, as seen from the river or from the terraces that form the gradients between the "falles," the flower gardens, or the bowling green, or from the upper parterre itself where the much publicized and discussed canopy dominates the entire façade with its tulip motif carried up the steep pitched gable to the crowning finial. With its sturdy, beautifully formed and carved brackets and deep cupped canopy between it is a little masterpiece of design worth wondering about as to origin and author.<sup>18</sup>

As to its progenitors one must think again of both Anne's and Samuel's Philadelphia contacts, remembering also that her kinsman, Samuel Chew, was in 1741 the Chief Justice of the lower counties of Pennsylvania (now Delaware), where the "German-

<sup>18</sup> There is some local opinion that the canopy was originally at the driveway entrance, before the present entrance porch was built. This is an interesting possibility, but there is no convincing evidence, either documentary or structural, that it has ever been moved or that it has not always been a part of the effective river façade.

town pent" was used over many doorways. Heavy projecting brackets, but no gable, were on Penn's House itself in Letitia Street. Many gables with and without brackets are still seen, as on the old stone house of another Quaker, Isaac Pitts, the iron founder at Valley Forge. Hope Lodge had one of slight projection. But it took a better man than had done any of these to do the canopy at Tulip Hill.

One hesitates to bring the overworked William Buckland into the architectural picture of Tulip Hill, for not one definite connection between him and the Galloways is to be found, but circumstantial evidence is sometimes convincing.

Samuel Galloway was in London on business in 1755 when his brother Joseph wrote him that it might be possible to purchase the Talbot's "Poplar Knowle." Samuel had been looking for property on which to build a home suitable to his station and the deal was made that year. Thomson Mason, brother of George Mason, was in London at that same time and secured by indenture William Buckland, skilled craftsman, to complete Gunston Hall, Virginia, just beginning construction.<sup>19</sup> Two prominent American merchants in London at the same time probably met, particularly when both were interested in building. Buckland, Mason, and Galloway sailed for America at approximately the same time, the fall of 1755.

Buckland came first to Annapolis about 1770 as architect for the Hammond-Harwood house but before that had done other work and had set up a shop of carvers in Virginia. Several documents of Samuel Galloway in the Bartlett Papers refer to securing the day's service of a "carver."

Consider the two double pendent arches, one at Gunston by Buckland, then the one at Tulip Hill. Buckland delighted in the free carving of flowers, particularly the rose. See the carved swags with roses and other flowers over the entrance doorway of his Hammond-Harwood House, but particularly note the completely naturalized and deeply carved petals of the rose he placed at the center of the otherwise severely classic Ionic capitals of the doorway columns. Then see the beautifully carved roses in the key and

<sup>19</sup> See R. R. Beirne, "William Buckland, Architect of Virginia and Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (September, 1946), 199-218, and Beirne and Bevan, *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (1941), pp. 19-23, for information about Buckland.

panels of the unconventionally treated pediment of the Tulip Hill façade.<sup>20</sup>

Though the "Grate" house does not seem to have been completely under roof until 1758, or at least paid for by that time, this letter from Annapolis to Tulip Hill seems to indicate early occupancy thereafter and also gives a pleasant picture of the times:<sup>21</sup>

Annapolis, Thurs. the 24 April 1759

Sir—It having been intimated that twould be more agreeable to many of the Ladies in Town to have a Ball To Morrow Avening than to go to a Play & order having been thereupon given for One—I am desired to beg the favour of You to present the Subscribers Compliments to the Ladies that are with You & intreat them to favour us with their Company if You can prevail with them to oblige Us. Be pleased to signify to me at what time they will be at the Ferry & the Governor's Chariot shall attend in this Side So. River to receive & bring them to Annapolis Be so kind also as to advise Your Brother of what is intended & say that we hope to have the pleasure of seeing him here to Morrow Evening as well as Yourself.

J. Ridout.

To Samuel Galloway, Esqr.

In his Absence To Mr. Joseph Galloway

Galloway contacts with their neighbors were at times dramatic. About the year 1769 Mr. Bennet Allen, politically appointed clergyman to St. James Parish, being of unsavory reputation, appointed to the Parish by the last Lord Proprietary, himself of none too good repute, was called to account by Mr. Sam Chew, Vestryman. Mr. Allen challenged Mr. Chew to a duel to be fought in "Mr. Sam Galloway's fields."<sup>22</sup> Mr. Chew appeared as per appointment; Mr. Allen did not. No subsequent results are chronicled.

Before affairs of state had borne too heavily, Mr. Washington, then Colonel of Militia, planter from Mount Vernon, Virginia, was often at Annapolis, on business or regularly at the Annapolis races each September when he enjoyed the play and the season's Ball. For a time in 1771 and 1772 to keep an eye on his stepson John Parke Custis then a lad who had been put to school there

<sup>20</sup> Samuel Galloway died in 1785, eleven years after Buckland's death. It seems then that the architectural refinements of the original center section were made for Samuel before his own death.

<sup>21</sup> Galloway Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth H. Murray, *One Hundred Years Ago* (1895), pp. 33-35.



with the Reverend Jonathan Boucher. This mentor as well as Mr. Washington was at pains to restrain the young man's interests in things other than his studies, his "propensity to the Sex," and to attentions paid to a daughter of Samuel Galloway of Tulip Hill at much too tender an age to think of matrimony.<sup>23</sup> Age must have been the barrier for the families were friendly and the Washington diaries note both business and social contracts.

Mr. Galloway sold him imported wines and entertained him as he travelled to or from the State Capital, as witness the diary of September 23, 1771, "Dined at Mr. Sam Galloway's [dinner was in the late afternoon] and lodged with Mr. Boucher in Annapolis."<sup>24</sup> And of September 30, on the way home, "Dind and Suppd with Mr. Saml. Galloway."<sup>25</sup> These stops with the Galloways were of course at Tulip Hill. To sup would mean an evening meal, seemingly too late to go farther that night, but none of his diaries record that he "slept here." Usually he rode on to his friends, the Digges at Melwood, beyond Marlborough and fifteen or eighteen miles nearer home.

Tulip Hill was one of the hospitable stopping places as Washington later travelled on more serious business to Philadelphia.

Then there is the dramatic story of the discovery in 1948 of a letter written to Samuel Galloway by George Washington in a bundle thrown into an alley in Washington, D. C., after a fire in an old stable. Fortunately, Mr. DeWelden, the sculptor in the studio next door, noticed early dated papers and saved them from rummaging children. The studio and the stable are owned by Mrs. Paul Wayland Bartlett. Mr. John Beverley Riggs, then an assistant in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress worked feverishly through a rainy New Year's Day salvaging as many of the papers as possible. Mrs. Bartlett, who had stored them for many years, gave them to the Library. Here is the text of one letter of great interest:<sup>26</sup>

To Samuel Galloway, Esqr.  
at Tulip Hill:

Dear Sir,

By Mr. Custis I send you Nine pounds Maryl'd Curry. for the last Box of

<sup>23</sup> Jonathan Boucher to George Washington, December 18, 1770, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>24</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Diaries of George Washington* (4 vols., 1925), II, 34.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 35.

<sup>26</sup> Bartlett Papers.

Claret you were obliging enough to get for me—I am not sure that this is the exact sum due but have desired Jack to pay the difficiency if any there be. I have not yet got the Claret, but as it is in the care of Mr. Barnes of Port Tobacco I shall fetch it from thence by land. If a cargo of this kind of Wine should arrive in the course of the Summer and a favorable opportunity offers to this River, I should be much obliged to you for a Box of it; the cost of which and the freight round shall be paid upon delivery. I am with great esteem

Dr. Sir

Yr. Most Obed't Serv't,  
G. Washington.

The furnishing of the new house was no small matter. Among other bills, there appears one to Samuel's agents in London: <sup>27</sup>

Mr. Thos. Philpot, London, 22 April, 1763. Bought of William Gomm & Sons & Company. In Clerkenwell Close, who make & sell all sorts of Chairs, Tables, Glasses, Cabinetwork and Upholstery Goods, Wholesale & Retail.

S. G. 12 Mahy. Chairs, Lether D. stuffed in the best manners & covered with the best Black Spanish Leather with brass nails.

2 Aarm chairs to match Packing Do. in matted percells L/ 21 - 16 - 6.

Samuel Galloway died in 1785. In the Hall of Records at Annapolis is the inventory of the Appraisers of his estate, dated February 4, 1786, which meticulously accounts for the value of some four hundred itemized listings of furniture and every conceivable household item, which would have been needed for the several large houses and other properties he owned.<sup>28</sup> The items range from fine sets of furniture to "1 Pr. of pistoles, 1 Parcel Books, 37 Doz. Shirt Buttons, 9450 20penny Nails, 1870 10-penny Nails, 12 Glazed Prints, [and] 80 Bus. Turnips." Then there are listed;

Amt. of Sundries at the Ridge plantation

Do Do at the Neck

Do Do at the Ship Yard

To Schooner (swallow) with Tackling Etc.

To a small Boat

To And old Scough

Tobacco at the Ridge, the Neck and Tulip Hill

Amt of Sundres at Tulip Hill

Do of Do at Tulip Hill plantation

Cash found in the house.

A total of £5052 - 5 - 11, not including real estate, apparently no

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*    <sup>28</sup> Inventory, Peas Papers, Box 9, f. 4-7, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

slaves nor livestock, unless these are included in the rather liberal amounts allowed in the *sundries* at the plantations.

John Galloway, son of Samuel, inherited Tulip Hill and "The marsh lands." During his Father's declining years he had conducted many of his affairs and was one of the Executors of his Will. He had married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Chew. They had one surviving daughter Mary.

John was a builder and from his ledger we gather that he had projected and begun to assemble materials for the building of the wings by approximately 1787. He had much building to do for the plantation and some of the orders for materials for these structures tend to become confused with those for the wings. He left no available data with which we can definitely fix the date of the wings nor of the addition at the entrance front of the present porch with its carved cupid.

Tax records are not always accurate as to dimensions, and it may be that this quotation from the Maryland Tax Assessment Records of 1798 may refer to the main house and wings though the dimensions are not properly given. Those of the main building are exact, those of the wings are not: <sup>20</sup>

Galloway John	2 storeys.	52 by 42	of Brick.
	1 storey	30. 20.	
		30. 20.	
	1 storey	14. 14.	Wood
		16. 12.	

A dwelling house and two "Out Houses" are listed. The column headed "Porches" is blank opposite the entry for Tulip Hill.

Two plans for the proposed wings have been found, neither dated. One, carefully drawn, was found torn in a wash house now removed.<sup>20</sup> This plan does not show the wings as they were built. It provided a large fireplace with bake oven for the kitchen and a force-pump and sink for a possible cistern that was actually built later and is shown on the plan as illustrated. The other is a fragment from John's ledger and is nearly as the right wing and kitchen were built.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>20</sup> Now in the possession of Miss Murray.

<sup>21</sup> John Galloway's Ledger (1800-1813), between pp. 103-104, Galloway Papers.

John died in 1810 leaving Tulip Hill to his daughter Mary who had married Virgil Maxcy. They had two daughters, Mary who married Francis Markoe and Sarah who married Col. George W. Hughes. Their daughter Anne S. Hughes was the last owner by descent. The property was sold in 1877 to Henry M. Murray, whose wife was a relative through the Galloway line. Later approximately 55 acres of it were sold and resold to several owners.

In 1918 when Mr. and Mrs. Henry H. Flather of Washington, D. C., bought Tulip Hill, the property had not been fully used nor kept up for several years. It is to them that we can look with grateful hearts for what they did in saving the old house for us and for their splendid restoration of the gardens and terraces, their preservations and plantings. They used the house as a summer residence only. After the death of Mr. Flather, it was finally sold by Mrs. Flather in 1946.

If one can reverse a simile and say that a house may find a haven as well as *be* a haven, then that may be said of Tulip Hill for finding its present owners and of them in finding it. To make a year round home, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis R. Andrews have perforce required more heat than the old fireplaces gave, more equipment of pantry and kitchen, more creature comforts here and there. But with exquisite taste in furnishings and care and extension of every vital part, one can feel sure that the old place will be happy as it nears its two hundredth birthday.

## "THOMAS COPLEY, GENTLEMAN"

By EDWIN W. BEITZELL

IT is well known that the early Roman Catholic clergymen in Maryland used one or more aliases. One unexpected result is that at times an individual appears in the records as leading a double life. The *Archives of Maryland* and allied documents treat of him under his secular name; the Jesuit records contain information under an entirely different name. The purpose of this paper is to study the career of Thomas Copley, Gentleman, alias Philip Fisher, S. J. In the secular records of the Maryland colony Mr. Thomas Copley appears quite frequently. We shall in our first part give a brief summary of his activities in early Maryland. In a second part we shall study the same individual under the name of Philip Fisher which is generally found in the Jesuit sources, but to avoid confusion we shall speak of him only as Copley. Much was written of Thomas Copley and Father Fisher before it became known in historical circles in America in 1885 that they were one and the same man.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Copley, Gentleman, first appears in the *Archives of Maryland* on January 25, 1638, when he together with Fathers Andrew White and John Altham of the Society of Jesus were summoned to attend the General Assembly.<sup>2</sup> He had arrived in the Province on August 8, 1637.<sup>3</sup> The first intimation that a chapel had been built at St. Mary's City occurs after the arrival of Father Copley. "An Act For Military Discipline," passed by the Assembly in the February-March 1638/1639 session, provided

<sup>1</sup> Reverend Wm. P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries* (1889), p. 49-55. For reasons for use of aliases by Jesuits see B. U. Campbell, "Early Christian Missions Among the Indians of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 297 ff. Briefly stated, prudence was exercised to avoid any public or apparent disregard of the penal laws then in effect in England against Catholic priests, and Jesuits in particular.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Dow Scisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V (1910), 166.

that upon any alarm the "house houlders within St. Maries hundred Shall send there men *as afore* to the *Chappell Yard* neere the fort. . . ." <sup>4</sup> In addition to his spiritual duties as Superior of the Mission <sup>5</sup> and pastor at St. Mary's City, Copley had the responsibility for the "temporalities" and had to provide for the physical needs of the priests and the mission. That he was prepared to engage in trade to help support the mission is evidenced by the goods shipped in 1637 by his agent, Robert Clerke (Clarke), which included cloth, axes, hatchets, knives and hoes. <sup>6</sup> In 1638 Copley, through his agent, Cyprian Thoroughgood, was engaged in the beaver trade with the Indians. <sup>7</sup>

Many other business transactions are recorded in the *Archives*, generally through his attorney or agent, although there are a few instances where it would seem that Copley personally appeared in Court. In 1638, through his attorney, he sued John Norton for failure to deliver "1000 foote of sawen boards," but the proposed use of the lumber is not disclosed. <sup>8</sup> The estate of Jerome Hawley was indebted to him to the extent of 189 pounds sterling which was collected. <sup>9</sup> On August 26, 1638, Father Copley personally appeared in Court and revoked his power of attorney to one Robert Percy. We shall see below that he apparently had good reason for this step. <sup>10</sup> Sundry debts were collected, including one from the estate of Captain Robert Wintour. <sup>11</sup> It is of interest to note that a former servant of Father Copley, Mathias de Sousa, a Mulatto, attended the Assembly of March 1641/1642. <sup>12</sup>

On July 27, 1641, Father Copley, in order to save the Jesuit lands at St. Inigoes (which had been purchased from Mr. Gerard at a "deere raite") <sup>13</sup> from confiscation by Lord Baltimore, trans-

<sup>4</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 78. The italics are mine.

<sup>5</sup> Reverend Thomas Hughes, S. J., *The History of The Society of Jesus In North America* (1907-1917), Text I, 370.

<sup>6</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 63.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 42, 59, 101.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 42, 415.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 67, 88.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 120; Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-Lights On Maryland History* (1913), I, 1-12. Whether de Sousa was transported directly by the Jesuit Fathers or became one of their indentured servants by assignment is uncertain. Apparently he had served the time of his indenture or had been freed, for only freeman could attend the Assembly. De Sousa subsequently lost his freedom to John Lawger for debt. See Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 281; *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 138, 155-156.

<sup>13</sup> Maryland Historical Society, "The Calvert Papers," Fund Publication No.



ferred the plantation by means of a personal trust to Cuthbert Fenwick, after securing confirmation of the title from Governor Leonard Calvert.<sup>14</sup> While Lord Baltimore permitted the transfer to stand he severely reprimanded his brother, the Governor, for his action.<sup>15</sup> In a similar transaction in 1649, Father Copley transferred St. Thomas Manor, which was granted a Court Leet and Court Baron to Thomas Matthews and Ralph Crouch under a personal trust. The Jesuits under the usual "Conditions of Plantation" were entitled to some 28,000 acres of land. It would appear that they obtained only about 4,000 acres (St. Thomas Manor) under the "Conditions" since their other lands (about 5,000 acres) were purchased.<sup>16</sup> Father Copley had considerable trouble in keeping his boats out of the hands of unauthorized persons and two such incidents are recorded.<sup>17</sup> In 1643 he rented the Chapel-House in St. Mary's City to Lord Baltimore for the use of Father Gilmett, a secular priest,<sup>18</sup> and was able to take care of the nearby Indians and the outlying white settlements, such as Newtown.<sup>19</sup>

Apparently the Chapel-House was sold to Lord Baltimore in 1642 with Thomas Cornwaleys acting as Father Copley's agent. The transaction, however, was not completed at that time because Lord Baltimore protested the 200 pounds sterling bill of exchange which represented the sale price. This caused Thomas Cornwaleys, represented by his attorney Cuthbert Fenwick, to sue Governor Calvert, John Lewger, and John Langford, who had handled the transaction for Lord Baltimore, for 100,000 pounds of tobacco in damages. Giles Brent, the Judge in the case, notified Governor Calvert he would have to pay or show cause why he should not

28, p. 164. It appears probable that the Mr. Gerard mentioned was Richard Gerard, one of the original colonists, who returned to England after a stay of about a year. See William Playfair, *British Family Antiquity* (London, 1811), VI, Appendix. His brother, Thomas, became prominent in Maryland provincial affairs. See author's "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-Law," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (1951), 189.

<sup>14</sup> Louis Dow Scisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI (1911), 202; *Archives of Maryland*, XXXIII, 314; Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 484.

<sup>15</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>16</sup> Louis Dow Scisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1912), 386; *Archives of Maryland*, III, 258; Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents I, 213-234.

<sup>17</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 165, 254.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 143.

<sup>19</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 555; Treacy, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

pay. The Governor refused to pay or show cause and entered a counter-suit against Brent for 30,000 pounds of tobacco as "satisfaction of a trespass done to the pl[aintif]f." Fenwick and Copley then obligated themselves in the amount of 30,000 pounds of tobacco to the Governor to prevent Brent's property from being attached. Brent in turn granted a process of attachment to Cornwallays but the Sheriff, Edward Packer, refused to serve it on the Governor. Brent had to issue another writ to Thomas Matthews, who was sworn in as a Special Deputy. The Governor countered by issuing a warrant for the arrest of Brent "to make answer to severall crimes agst the dignity & dominion of the right ho[no]r[ab]le the Lord Proprietary of this Province."<sup>20</sup> The final outcome of these legal transactions is unknown as the records for the years 1645-1647 disappeared during the Ingle invasion.<sup>21</sup> Apparently some settlement was reached and the title to the land passed to Lord Baltimore. Kilty states indeed, that "the Proprietary having disposed of a part of the Chapel land, ordered that such quantity as was deemed necessary for the Chapel and burying place at the City of St. Mary's be supplied from some other of his Lordship's land lying contiguous thereto."<sup>22</sup>

During the Ingle invasion of 1645 mission property valued at over 2,000 pounds sterling was seized or destroyed. In a schedule filed by Father Copley, together with an affidavit, when he sued Ingle for recovery some years later, he mentioned that a house was burned, some sixty cattle were dispersed and twenty indentured servants were missing. All of the church and house furnishings at St. Mary's City, St. Inigoes, and Port Tobacco were stolen. In the same document, mention is made of massive silver plate, jewelry of gold, diamonds, sapphire and ruby, tapestry embroidered in gold and silver, and a fair library of books, valued at 150 pounds.<sup>23</sup> Very probably, the plate, jewelry and embroidered tapestry mentioned in the schedule were the vestments and the sacred vessels used in the Church service. Copley would hardly have dared to identify the stolen articles otherwise in a Court in England. Nor did he mention the destruction of the Chapel-House, other than as a house. Father Joseph Zwinge, S. J., has pointed out that it

<sup>20</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 266, 292-294, 301, 305.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, III, x.

<sup>22</sup> John Kilty, *Landholder's Assistant* (1808), p. 123.

<sup>23</sup> Henry F. Thompson, "Richard Ingle in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 135-140; *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 415; X, 12.

was the Chapel-House that was destroyed, because the residence at St. Inigoes was in possession of a Mrs. Baldridge,<sup>24</sup> a Protestant, when Father Copley finally was able to return to Maryland in 1648, and the " Hill " house in St. Mary's City remained intact as it was mentioned in a deed of 1667.<sup>25</sup> Father Copley's former attorney, Robert Percy, seems to have known a great deal about the disappearance of the plate.<sup>26</sup>

As is well known, Fathers Copley and White were taken in chains to England by Ingle, where they were tried, acquitted, and ultimately released. The other Jesuit priests, Roger Rigby, Bernard Hartwell, and John Cooper are supposed to have fled to Virginia where they died in 1646 under unexplained circumstances.<sup>27</sup> Father Copley, after his release returned to Virginia in company with Father Laurence Starkey, S. J., early in 1648. For some weeks they remained in hiding but in February, 1648, Copley crossed over into Maryland and resumed his duties.<sup>28</sup> Father White who was 68 years old and in broken health, was not permitted to return to Maryland although he desired to do so. He died in England in 1656.<sup>29</sup>

During the years 1648-1650 Father Copley appears to have been engaged mainly in trying to recover the property and indentured servants of the mission.<sup>30</sup> On February 9, 1648/1649, he was out of the Province.<sup>31</sup> It is probable that he was in Virginia, where as delegate of the General of the Society of Jesus, he received the final vows of Father Starkey.<sup>32</sup> In July, 1650, he visited Margaret Brent in Stafford County, Virginia.<sup>33</sup> The Brent family on account of its differences with Lord Baltimore had left Maryland.<sup>34</sup>

None of Father Copley's activities appears in the *Archives* after 1650. Perhaps poor health restricted his activities. According to

<sup>24</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 178.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Zwinge, S. J., " The Jesuit Farms," *Woodstock Letters*, XL (1911), 72. Issued by the Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland. (Privately printed and circulated).

<sup>26</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 415.

<sup>27</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 562; Text II, 11, 679.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Documents I, 128; Text II, 24.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Text II, 678.

<sup>30</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 379, 380-385, 396, 406, 420, 426, 443, 499, 507, 519, 531, 533; X, 33, 36, 38, 81, 129, 132, 137.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 473.

<sup>32</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 25.

<sup>33</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, X, 104.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 239, 267; IV, 301; X, 104.

Hughes his death occurred on July 14, 1652, the circumstances and place being unknown.<sup>35</sup> However, another writer has recorded that he died at Patapsco, Maryland, in 1653.<sup>36</sup>

The information given so far has been culled largely from secular records about Thomas Copley. We now turn to Jesuit sources to complete the picture. Some apologists for Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and other writers on Maryland have expressed sharp criticism of Father Copley. His position in Maryland would have been difficult at any period and under any circumstances. In addition, he lived in one of the more critical periods of English, and consequently of Maryland history. Lord Baltimore was venturing to advance religious freedom during a period of religious upheaval. The attempt was complicated by the fact that the undertaking had to be financially successful or his family would be reduced to pauperism. The Calvert fortunes had been seriously depleted in the Avalon adventure in Newfoundland.<sup>37</sup>

Much has been written about Thomas Copley, Gentleman, but little has been written about Thomas Copley, Priest (alias Philip Fisher, S. J.). Father Copley was of a distinguished English family. His grandfather was Thomas Copley of Gatton who possessed several estates. Through one ancestress he claimed the barony of Welles, through another that of Hoo, and was related through them to Queen Elizabeth. Both Burleigh and Walsingham, the Queen's trusted counsellors, were his kinsmen. Few untitled families ranked higher or possessed greater wealth when Elizabeth ascended the throne of England in 1558. Grandfather Thomas Copley married Catherine, the daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Lutterel of Dunster, Somersetshire. After the troubles in Northern England in 1570 he went to Louvain and in 1575 entered the service of the King of Spain. Although he refused to give up his religion, Queen Elizabeth permitted him to keep a considerable part of his holdings in England.<sup>38</sup>

While in exile from England, Mr. Copley corresponded with the Queen. Elizabeth wrote from Hampton Court in February, 1576, to Requesens, Spanish Governor of the Low Counties,

<sup>35</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 47, 679.

<sup>36</sup> Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia* (1950), p. 39.

<sup>37</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland*, (1929), p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Mrs. K. C. Dorsey, "Life of Father Thomas Copley," *Woodstock Letters*, XIII (1884), 249.

desiring him to show favor to Thomas Copley who had done her good service and stated that he was not of those traitors and rebels who had fled from the realm, but was abroad for his religion and liberty of conscience. She could not deny that "he is ancientment of my blood or that he has formerly honorably served me."<sup>39</sup> While the family was still in exile, Thomas' son and heir, William, married Magdalen Prideaux. The eldest child of this marriage, also called Thomas, was born in Madrid in 1594. In 1603, after the death of the Queen, his mother brought the children to the ancestral Copley home at Gatton where they were permitted to remain. Thomas' sisters Mary and Helen entered a religious order at Louvain in 1610. Thomas soon followed in their footsteps, after transferring his family inheritance to his brother, William. He entered the Society of Jesus at Louvain sometime between 1611 and 1615. The Rector at that time was Father John Gerard, S. J., of the ancient and distinguished family of Lancashire.<sup>40</sup> Father Andrew White was a member of the teaching staff at the College.<sup>41</sup>

Sometime after completion of his studies Father Copley returned to England, for when the Jesuit Residence at Clerkenwell was raided by Government agents in 1628, his alias of Philip Fisher appeared more than once in the reports.<sup>42</sup> Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., has pointed out that before Copley's departure for Maryland, his office and duties in London gave him every opportunity to work for the Maryland colony and mission. He was in charge of the London Residence, under the Rector of the Community and he had charge of the temporalities in general, that is, he was both minister and procurator. Hughes suggests also that these duties caused Copley to seek the protection of the King of England as "an alien born" in order that he might have freedom of action. His petition was granted and a warrant was issued on December 10, 1634, securing to "Thomas Copley, gentleman, an alien," the appropriate immunities from persecution.<sup>43</sup>

Undoubtedly Father Copley worked closely with Father Andrew

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV (1885), 29.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV (1885), 33; William Playfair, *British Family Antiquity*, VI, Appendix; John Gerard, *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest* (Translated from the Latin by Philip Caraman) (New York, Pellagrini and Cudahy, 1952), p. 277.

<sup>41</sup> *Woodstock Letters*, XIV, 34; Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 168.

<sup>42</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 366.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Text I, 335, 366.



White in the advance preparation that was necessary prior to the settlement of the colony in Maryland. Father White was secretary to Lord Baltimore<sup>44</sup> and Father Copley as minister and procurator of the Jesuit Residence had the responsibility for arranging for the establishment of the mission in Maryland. It is probable that these duties prevented Copley from sailing with the first group of colonists. Due to the controversy between Lord Baltimore and the Jesuits, Father Copley did not reach Maryland until 1637.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss this controversy in any detail. The Jesuit side of the matter has been thoroughly explored by Father Hughes in his work, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*. William Hand Browne, Bishop William Thomas Russell, Matthew Page Andrews, and other well-known Maryland historians and writers also have reviewed this matter thoroughly. William Hand Browne has stated Lord Baltimore's problem and position in the following words:

The priests, moreover, dwelling in the wilderness, freed from the statute law, and no longer under the shadow of *praemunire*, were disposed to claim the immunities and exemptions of the bull *In Coena Domini*, and to hold themselves free of the common law, and answerable to the canon law only, and to ecclesiastical tribunals. Baltimore was a Romanist in faith, but he was an Englishman with all the instincts of his race. He at once planted himself on the ground that all his colonists, cleric or lay, were under the common law, and there should be no land held in mortmain in the Province.<sup>45</sup>

To this may be added Lord Baltimore's own statement of his problem to his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert:

And for aught you know some accident might have happened here that it was no injustice in me to refuse them [the Jesuits] grants of land at all and that by reason of some act of this state it might have endangered my life and fortune to have permitted them to have had any grants at all; which I do not, I assure you, mention without good ground. . . .<sup>46</sup>

Judge Ives has written that when Baltimore wrote this letter he, at times, "used harsh language and made accusations wholly unwarranted. He wrote as a man out of patience, and as a man would write who had cares and worries which others did not understand. . . ." <sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>45</sup> William Hand Browne, *Maryland, The History of a Palatinate* (1888), p. 55.

<sup>46</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>47</sup> J. Moss Ives, *The Ark and the Dove* (1936), p. 214.



Father Copley also was burdened with problems. He was made Superior of the mission upon his arrival in Maryland, a heavy responsibility, since he had to make the mission self-supporting. The colonists were not required or asked to contribute to the support of either the priests or their establishments, which was a severe handicap to the missionary work of the priests. Under the regular " Conditions of Plantation " they were entitled to some 28,000 acres of land and in addition had bought other land.<sup>49</sup> They would not have made this large investment if they had known that they could not possess it in furtherance of their missionary work. As regards Copley's request for certain immunities and privileges it must be regarded in the light of the times.<sup>49</sup> He asked only for those privileges generally accorded to the Church by European governments in those days. Thomas Cornwaleys, a layman, supported Copley and was most emphatic in writing Baltimore on the same subject.<sup>50</sup> There are, too, many indications that Governor Leonard Calvert was sympathetic, and Calvert did not hesitate to demand, and on occasion received, special personal privileges from the Provincial government.<sup>51</sup> In the final analysis, it would seem that the main point of Father Copley's claim, as pointed out by Judge Ives, was that lands held solely for religious and educational purposes should not be subject to the burden of assessment and taxation, a principle that is generally recognized in this country today.<sup>52</sup>

Many other charges have been leveled at Father Copley during the past three hundred years. It will be of interest to review them in the light of all the evidence now at hand. One writer has suggested<sup>53</sup> and another has stated<sup>54</sup> that Father Copley had broken his vows by marrying and consequently could serve only in secular affairs. Hughes has effectively disproved this charge.<sup>55</sup> Some writers<sup>56</sup> have repeated that " Father [Henry] More when Provincial gave it as his opinion that Father Copley ' though of

<sup>49</sup> See Notes 13 and 16.

<sup>49</sup> " The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>51</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 173, 182.

<sup>52</sup> Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>53</sup> E. D. Neill, *Terra Mariae* (1867), p. 70.

<sup>54</sup> C. E. Smith, *Religion Under the Barons of Baltimore* (1899), p. 203.

<sup>55</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 121.

<sup>56</sup> Bishop William Thomas Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary* (1907), pp. 158-159; Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 102, footnote.

good talents and sufficient experience,' was 'deficient in judgment and prudence'." This, of course, was one man's opinion. Father More, while described as "one of the most learned and prudent men in England," had difficulty in arriving at decisions and ultimately resigned his office as Provincial. It has also been stated that he was so sparing of his words and irresolute in his replies to members who sought his advice that they went away with the same difficulties which they brought for solution.<sup>57</sup> This perhaps explains the reason for Copley's corresponding directly with the General of the Society on occasion.<sup>58</sup> It should be remembered also that as Superior of the mission Copley had no choice but to represent the Jesuit side of the controversy with Lord Baltimore. Further than this, he was not empowered to make a final decision. Father Copley wrote to the General after the Assembly of 1639, and received the following reply on September 3, 1639:

Your difficulties, as described in your letter of May 14th, touch me deeply; and I do not see how I can help to solve them. However, I derive great comfort from that state of tranquility which has ensued on the rejection of the laws by the delegates, as well as from the uprightness of that magistrate who, desiring to be reckoned a Catholic, will, I trust, determine on no measure against ecclesiastics without referring to the Chief Pastor [the Pope]; since, without him, it is not lawful for them to attempt anything, nor for us to acquiesce, if they did so. He alone and under him the others [ecclesiastical superiors] decide in matters concerning their men, of whatever nation these may be, or in whatever part of the world.<sup>59</sup>

On the same day the General wrote to the new Provincial Edward Knott:

I see well enough in what a critical condition the Fathers in Maryland are placed by reason of the new laws [bills?]. But, if one or other alternative must be taken, then conscience is to be deferred to rather than the clamors of popular cupidity [or the fears of popular odium]. If his Excellency Signor Con could be persuaded to submit the matter to the Holy See, I think it would be worth the trouble.<sup>60</sup>

Father Copley's correspondence with Lord Baltimore was diplomatic and restrained, despite Baltimore's caustic marginal notations. In his letter of April 3, 1638, he made an honest appraisal of conditions in the colony and reported how the people felt about

<sup>57</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 422, 423, 458, 459.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, Text I, 458.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Text I, 459.

these conditions; based upon his own experience he counseled planting and development of the land instead of pursuing trade and cautioned against trying to get a return on the investment too fast. He emphasized the latter point by using several pithy sayings, viz.,

Certainly I conceave that your Lor[dshi]pe will rather thinke it fit to nourish and support younge sprigs, then to depresse them; and to goe aboute to gather frute befor it be planted and ripe, is nuer to haue frute. . . . But ended the old saings are true that Roome was not bulte in a day, and that such as will lipe [leap] ouer [the] stile [stile], before they cumme at them, shall breake there shin, and perhaps not gitt ouer the still [stile] soe quickly, as those, who cumme to them, befor they boe ouer.<sup>60</sup>

Gentle Father White wrote Lord Baltimore along many of the same lines as Father Copley but in much stronger language.<sup>61</sup> The forthright Thomas Cornwaleys was even more emphatic in his letter of April 16, 1638, regarding the enactment of objectionable laws by the Assembly. He wrote:

Other mens Imaginations are noe infallible presidents [precedents] toe mee, nor will the multitude of names nor Seales, moue mee to bee A foole for Company, for what in them was only Inadvertens, non would tearm less than foolery in mee, *whoe might or ought toe know by experiens, that it is impossible toe Comply with the Conditions mentioned in the Lease and bee a Sauer by them.*<sup>62</sup>

One searches in vain for any real evidence that Copley was lacking in prudence or judgment. Rather, from such evidence as is extant, it would appear that he was true to his duty in a difficult situation and acted with good sense and forbearance. When the controversy was finally settled and Copley was advised by his superiors to accede to Baltimore's wishes, he gracefully did so and that was the end of the matter.

Touching the matter of politics, it is a matter of record that Father Copley and the other Jesuits declined to participate in the General Assemblies.<sup>63</sup> Copley explained the reasons for this action in his letter of April 3, 1638, to Baltimore, although he did not go into detail.<sup>64</sup> There were three reasons for this action: (1) the

<sup>60</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170, 176.

<sup>63</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2, 3.

<sup>64</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Assembly was competent to try causes of blood; and, in point of fact, it judged and hanged Thomas Smith [Smyth],<sup>65</sup> on a charge of piracy. Every Catholic clergyman is and always has been disqualified both by canon law, and by the civil law in conjunction with the canons, from taking an active part in such causes; (2) the Jesuits were inhibited by their own rules and constitutions from taking part in deliberations of a political character; and (3) they were too busy with their missionary work to participate in such activities, even if it had been permissible. Apparently John Lewger, Secretary of the Province (who later applied for entrance in the Jesuit Order and subsequently was ordained a Catholic priest),<sup>66</sup> must have complained that the Fathers were influencing legislation because Father Copley was moved to write Lord Baltimore in these words:

*Yet Mr. Lugar, conceaving that some that had relation to us weare not soe favourable to his waye, as he desired, seemed in some sorte to attribuite the same to us, But I will assure your Lordshipe that he was much mistaken, for truly we weare noe cause thereof; as he might easily haue gathered in that William Lewis who is our overseier and had more Proxis then all the rest, was ever concurring w[i]th. him, w[hi]ch. could not haue binne if we had binne auerse. . . .*<sup>67</sup>

William Lewis, who was the overseer of the Jesuit plantation at St. Inigoes had proxies for five persons and later held a sixth, disposing thus of seven votes which appear to have been more than those held by any other person.<sup>68</sup> He was such a zealous Catholic that his zeal caused a great deal of trouble a few months later. In addition to Lewis and Robert Clerke (Clarke), another employee, the Fathers had many influential friends such as Thomas Cornwaleys and Cuthbert Fenwick, whom they could have called upon if they had wanted to exert their influence. The laws passed by the Assembly of 1638, with the help of Lewis and over the bitter objects of Cornwaleys,<sup>69</sup> indicate that the Fathers left politics severely alone. Nor is there any evidence that they departed from this course at any subsequent time.

The celebrated Lewis case furnishes an excellent example of

<sup>65</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 16-19.

<sup>66</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 16.

<sup>67</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>68</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 3, 5.

<sup>69</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 169.

the liberal and tolerant viewpoint of Father Copley. In the trial of this case Francis Gray testified that he had spoken with Copley regarding the difficulty with Lewis over religion, "& that Mr. Copley had given him good satisfaction in it, & blamed much William Lewis for his contumelious speeches and ill-governed zeale and said it was fitt he should be punished. . . ." <sup>70</sup>

It seems to have been taken for granted over the years that Father Copley was more of a business man than a priest. Here again, as in the controversy with Lord Baltimore, his secular duties were not a matter of choice with Copley. As Superior of the Mission during the greater part of his life in Maryland the temporal responsibilities rested squarely upon his shoulders. In addition, due to his previous experience in England, he was the best fitted to handle this work so necessary to the life of the mission. The spiritual work of the Fathers could not be carried on unless the mission was self-sustaining. It cannot be denied that he did a good job and had talent as an administrator. At the time of his death there was a residence and chapel at St. Mary's City.<sup>71</sup> A school was in operation <sup>72</sup> and the Jesuits held plantations at St. Inigoes and Port Tobacco,<sup>73</sup> despite the set back at the hands of Richard Ingle.

Years before, when Father Copley conceived the desire to enter the Society of Jesus, his father who opposed the idea came over from England (probably to St. Omers), took him home and turned over to him for three years the administration of the family estates. Yet he did not succeed in keeping his son from following his vocation.<sup>74</sup> This practical business experience together with his services as procurator of the London Residence undoubtedly contributed to his success as administrator of the Maryland Mission. This success was a personal tragedy to Copley the priest, for it prevented him from becoming an Indian missionary as he so ardently desired. The real motivating force of his whole life was the love of his Creator, the saving of souls, and service to mankind; he was a priest first whose administrative problems and material matters were decidedly of secondary importance. These

<sup>70</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 37.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 78; IV, 266.

<sup>72</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 46.

<sup>73</sup> Louis Dow Sisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI (1911), 202; VII (1912), 386; VIII (1913), 268.

<sup>74</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 48.

facts are clearly established by his correspondence with his superiors and in the Annual Letters.<sup>75</sup>

As early as 1639, Father Copley petitioned the General of the Society to relieve him of his duties at St. Mary's City and to allow him to go on the Indian missions.<sup>76</sup> In the Annual Letter of 1640 it was reported that Father Copley still resided at St. Mary's City but nothing more agreeable could have happened to him than to have been able to labor in the Indian harvest. However, his congregation could not do without his services, and he had brought five converts into the Church during the year.<sup>77</sup> The Letter of 1642 advised that the Superior, Father Copley, remained for the most part at St. Mary's during the year, in order that he might take care of the English and the Indians living not far distant. This letter includes a moving description of a typical excursion by the Jesuit Missionaries, often quoted by Maryland writers, which in all probability was written by Copley, since he was the Superior.<sup>78</sup>

On July 16, 1644, the General wrote to Father Copley felicitating him on the number of baptisms and on the work done in Virginia. He also discussed the project of penetrating further among the Indians and Copley's design for a missionary excursion into New England. After Copley's return to Maryland from England in 1648, the General commended him for his self-abnegation and zeal in undertaking the Mission anew.<sup>79</sup> Upon his arrival in Maryland, he wrote the General on March 1, 1648, that, "Like an angel of God did they receive me." He had spent two weeks with the colonists but found it difficult to tear himself away. However, the Indians who also had been treated badly by the raiders were calling for him. "I scarcely know what to do," he wrote, "since I cannot satisfy all." Not a word was said about the looting and destruction of the mission property, which meant, however, that he must start to build anew. Instead, he wrote that he hoped that the General and the Provincial would concur in sending him a reinforcement of two or three men who would be required to care for the spiritual needs of Maryland and Virginia.

<sup>75</sup> For an explanation of the Annual Letters see Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (1910), p. 115.

<sup>76</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents I, 23.

<sup>77</sup> Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>79</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 562; Documents I, 36.



He closed his letter, " God grant that I may do His Will for the greater glory of His Name. Truly, flowers appear in our land; may they attain to fruit." <sup>80</sup>

On March 13, 1648, Father Copley had recorded in the Provincial Court the old safe-conduct, for which he had petitioned Charles I fifteen years before.<sup>81</sup> Nothing in the Jesuit records mentions this act, and one can only speculate as to his reasons for so doing. Perhaps after his experience with Ingle and the troubled times in England he felt it was the wise course. If it is correct that he died at Patapsco, perhaps his Superior finally permitted him to go out on an Indian mission, which would account for his disappearance from the Provincial records after 1650.

Although Father Copley was unable to join in the original adventure he should be counted as one of the founders of the Maryland Mission. Copley Hall at Georgetown University perpetuates his name among the outstanding early Maryland Jesuit missionaries. While his health was poor, his activity was great <sup>82</sup> and he was one of the most prominent figures in the mission during fifteen of its early years. Despite his earlier criticism of Copley, Father Henry More wrote in commendation of his zeal that not yet sated with labors nor wearied to death with sufferings, he was imitating the divine love of One who left ninety-nine sheep on the eternal hills and sought the lonely creature lost amid the briers of the earth. He stated further that when the Father had undergone many labors for the propagation of the faith, he died in Maryland a holy death worthy of his life.<sup>83</sup> Truly this man deserves to be better known as Thomas Copley, Priest.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, Documents I, 128; Text II, 24.

<sup>81</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 479.

<sup>82</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 46, 47.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, Text II, 47, 48.

## AN ABOLITION MARTYRDOM IN MARYLAND

By HAZEL C. WOLF

MARYLAND was a center of attention for American abolitionists from 1844 to 1846, for in a Baltimore jail was Charles Turner Torrey, New England clergyman and professional abolitionist. Imprisoned for breaking Maryland's laws against aid to fugitive Negroes, Torrey's incarceration there climaxed many years of anti-slavery agitation and furnished abolition lecturers and journalists with copious polemic material to demonstrate Maryland's inhumanity to humanitarians.

For Charles Torrey, born at Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1813, imprisonment in Baltimore jail was in keeping with his stormy life. Reared by indulgent grandparents, he lacked self-discipline and in youth floundered at finding a life work. Upon graduation at Yale, he tried and failed at school teaching, then entered the theological seminary at Andover, Massachusetts. But in the belief that he suffered from tuberculosis, he left shortly for a long pedestrian journey which he thought restored his health. Returning to his study for the ministry, he worked for two years with established pastors. He completed his course with Reverend Jacob Ide of West Medway and on October 25, 1836, the Mendon Association of Congregational Ministers licensed him to preach.<sup>1</sup>

But as Torrey sought a ministerial appointment, he encountered the first of many difficulties over his stand on slavery. Abolition had brought cleavage to many congregations. "My abolitionism and Emmonsism," he boasted early in 1837, just before he accepted a call to the Richmond Street Congregational Church in Providence, Rhode Island, "might cause a few to leave, and would draw others. The friends of the slave are determined to

<sup>1</sup> Joseph C. Lovejoy, *Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey* (Boston, 1847), pp. 1-6, 28-33; Mortimer Blake, *Centennial History of the Mendon Association of Congregational Ministers* (Boston, 1853), pp. 78, 316.

have one abolition church, and the abolitionists are the sound men in doctrine. Still, something may occur to cause a struggle and prevent my remaining here." <sup>2</sup> So with his bride, daughter of his ministerial tutor, he established himself at Providence and divided his attention between the immediate problems of his congregation and the great moral issues of the day. Of these latter, he daily increased his attention to the evils of American slavery. Soon his abolition sermons outnumbered all others. Some members of his congregation gloried in his crusade; some actively opposed it. Shortly they divided sharply over the issue. But those friendly to Torrey's views were the minority, and he resigned. It was better, he believed, to labor where his words might spur the cause than to remain where impassioned appeals brought only contention. In January, 1838, he became pastor of Harvard Street Church in Salem where George Barrell Cheever had already "abolitionized" the congregation.<sup>3</sup>

But Torrey's anti-slavery zeal drove him beyond the duties of ministering to those already converted. In 1839 he joined the Massachusetts clergymen who objected to William Lloyd Garrison's preoccupation with such extraneous matters as world peace, proper sabbath observance, non-resistance, women's rights, and the injustices of all forms of human government. With them, Torrey worked to replace the *Liberator* with a paper devoted entirely to abolition and became editor of the new Massachusetts Abolition Society's *Massachusetts Abolitionist*. Garrison fought back and the national society split over the question of whether abolition crusaders in the future were to call Americans to renounce slavery as sin or to ballot it out of existence. Torrey battled to make the campaign a political one. For his stand Garrison blasted him and his efforts and broadcast his name wherever the *Liberator* went. So by 1840 American abolitionists knew Torrey well.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, Torrey formulated his long range abolition program. He would, he said, evangelize slaveholders, provide Bible instruction for slaves, send out more abolition lecturers, expand newspaper appeal and enlist more clergymen to preach the sin of

<sup>2</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. Nathaniel Emmons, American theologian, taught that men act freely under divine agency.

<sup>3</sup> Blake, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 317-319.

<sup>4</sup> Wendell P. Garrison and Francis J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison* (4 vols., New York, 1885), II, 266-276.

slaveholding. He would at the same time strengthen the political movement with more anti-slavery petitions to Congress and with greater efforts to elect anti-slavery men to legislative bodies.

When the opinions of the MASSACHUSETTS public are right, [Torrey wrote,] we expect the legislative, judicial, and executive powers will be wielded, so far as may be, in favor of liberty and against slavery. When the majority of the NATIONAL 'public' are right, CONGRESS will sweep away every vestige of slavery within the limits of its constitutional power. Separate states will, one by one, do the same ;and so on, till the work is done.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, Torrey turned to more direct assistance to the enslaved Negro. In 1841 he brought a Boston seaman into court for his insistence upon returning to the South a runaway North Carolina stowaway slave. While his action did not save the fugitive from return to bondage, it did occasion the organization of the Boston Vigilance Committee to secure for colored persons their constitutional and legal rights. Torrey became the group's secretary.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, however, Torrey's financial condition steadily worsened. Neither as minister nor as abolitionist editor-lecturer could he adequately provide for his family. In 1841 he determined upon a new career. Late in that year he went to the national capital as correspondent for a number of New York and Boston papers. Again he clashed with Southerners. Early in the new year he covered an Annapolis meeting of slaveholders who had responded to a call to "all persons favorable to the protection of slaveholding interests in the state." There, on Thursday, January 12, he took a seat on the main floor and began note-taking for a report to his papers. Suddenly the chairman asked that all non-members leave the room. Other reporters remained; Torrey hesitated. Then John M. S. Causin, brilliant young Annapolis attorney, moved that only those non-members who could find sponsors among the accredited delegates be allowed seats on the main floor. Although Torrey knew no one, he assumed that the rule functioned as it did for the United States Congress whose sessions he was currently reporting and that he could, after adjournment, introduce himself to some delegate and for the remaining sessions

<sup>5</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Tenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* (Boston, 1842), 81; *Liberator*, June 11, 18, 1841.

could sit in the main hall. Hence he found a place among gallery spectators and continued his notes. Almost at once the door-keeper singled him out and demanded that he leave the building. As Torrey gathered up his belongings and prepared to leave, the man suddenly seized him by the collar and pushed him into a committee room with instructions for him to wait there for the convention's decision on admitting him. At Torrey's objection the man softened and predicted the group would shortly admit him.

So Torrey waited. To his surprise he soon heard the delegates' disagreement over him. The debate was heated. Angry slaveholders left the main hall and came threateningly into the committee room. Some reviled him; others advised him to flee the town. When he finally left to return to Washington, a mob waylaid him, insisted that he settle at once for his lodging and surged into his room to rummage through his papers, while protesting loudly against all abolitionists. Although their search yielded nothing incriminating, some called him an incendiary and shouted against his peaceable departure. Some threatened tar and feathers; some wanted him hanged; some merely urged him out of town.

Even as they talked a clerk arrived to present Torrey with a magistrate's warrant which committed him to jail. The mob followed as the officer hurried Torrey along. Some shouted that legal processes were much too slow for dealing with hated abolitionists. For the next three days Torrey shivered and prayed among imprisoned slaves in Annapolis jail. In his unheated cell he re-dedicated his life to the Negro's freedom.<sup>7</sup>

"May God help me to be faithful," he said later, "to that pledge made in Annapolis jail. In that cell, God helping me, if it stands, I will celebrate the emancipation of the slaves in Maryland before ten years more roll away."<sup>8</sup>

Torrey's trial came up on the next Monday. As the hour approached, the court room bulged with spectators. Some came of the desire to see a man who risked his freedom and his life in an unpopular cause; some came to see a wretch flogged, tarred and feathered, perhaps hanged. Others hoped to blast his name with a denunciation which would damn every abolitionist in the land.

When Judge Nicholas Brewer called the case, John M. S. Causin, whose keen mind and forceful voice had already won him

<sup>7</sup> *Niles' National Register*, 61: 322-323 (January 15, 1842), 356 (February 5, 1842); Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

political recognition, came confidently forward. With great assurance he examined witnesses against Torrey. Then he read from extreme anti-slavery journals and interpreted Torrey's brief convention notes in that light. He emphasized the danger of the groups whose agent he said Torrey was; he called him an incendiary and a disseminator of dangerous doctrine. The crowd applauded.

Then Torrey's counsel, Thomas S. Alexander, Maryland anti-slavery advocate, replied briefly to Causin's remarks and put his client on the stand. As soon as Torrey had answered routine questions Judge Brewer declared that he must retain the prisoner until the court could investigate statements which some state witnesses had testified that Torrey had attributed to Maryland Negroes. As Judge Brewer signed the commitment which remanded him to jail for another week, Torrey well knew the consequences should the court later find him guilty of plotting with Negroes against the laws of Maryland. His fears proved groundless when he again went before Judge Brewer. The slaveholders' convention had dispersed, popular excitement had subsided, and Torrey went free on bond to keep the peace. So he returned to his writing and lecturing and was for a year editor of the *Tocsin of Liberty*, an anti-Garrison paper published in Albany.

His zeal for the enslaved soon led Torrey into further difficulties.<sup>9</sup> In 1843 a Negro who had successfully traveled the underground railway to Canada appealed to Torrey for help in getting his wife and children out of slavery. Such requests Torrey had never been able to refuse. He hastened South with the man, hired a span of horses and a carriage at the Pennsylvania border and traveled to the national capital to meet the fugitives. Before he could execute his plan, capital police officers seized the Negro family and confiscated Torrey's horses and vehicle. Hastily Torrey borrowed money to pay for animals and carriage, then went on to Delaware to work with the underground railway. Shortly thereafter he returned North and in Philadelphia met one Emily Webb, a free Negro, who asked him to bring out of bondage her husband and children, slaves of Bushrod Taylor in Virginia. This Torrey did, then again returned North.<sup>10</sup>

Early in 1844, Torrey, ever in financial straits, moved to Baltimore and made plans for entering the starch manufacturing busi-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-105.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-125; *Emancipator*, May 27, 1842.



ness. His violations of slave state laws overtook him. On June 24 an executive requisition from Virginia sent him to Baltimore jail for his part in the Webb family escape the previous year. Immediately one William Heckrotte of Baltimore signed a warrant for his detention for aiding certain of his slaves out of Maryland. Since the Webb case involved extradition to Virginia, Heckrotte's charge took precedence and Maryland authorities kept Torrey in jail to await trial.<sup>11</sup>

Torrey's imprisonment in the Baltimore jail began two years of public attention to his story. Within a month the prisoner himself wrote to abolitionists of Essex County, Massachusetts, and invited them to meet him around Washington's monument in Baltimore on July 4, 1848, to celebrate the triumph of liberty in Maryland. To other groups he explained his ideas for ridding the country of slavery and defended himself against abolitionists who deplored his method of aiding the Negro. He argued that he was unjustly imprisoned upon a mere requisition from Virginia authorities, he denied the constitutionality of punishment for aiding an escaping slave when such action was not a felony in half the slave states.<sup>12</sup> "Shall a man," he asked, "be put into the Penitentiary for doing good?—for doing his plain duty to the poor and oppressed?"<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, abolition groups in the North adopted Torrey's cause. Boston Negroes held a sympathy meeting, whites in Upton, Massachusetts, collected money for him. Northampton citizens prayed for him and urged action in his behalf. Soon, however, he was the subject of contention among abolitionists. Never a robust man, Torrey had become ill after a few weeks' imprisonment. Deeply discouraged that his hopes for trial in federal court would not materialize, he worked stealthily at sawing away his prison bars. His wary keepers detected his efforts, however, and he remained in jail. When his trial began in November, 1844, friends and foes alike still debated the wisdom of his actions in the entire matter.<sup>14</sup>

The Maryland indictment against Torrey charged that he enticed, persuaded and assisted certain of William Heckrotte's

<sup>11</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 126; *Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle*, July 24, August 7, 1844.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, September 11, 1844; Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-149.

<sup>13</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150; *Liberator*, September 6, 13, 27, 1844; *Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle*, August 28, September 4, October 2, 9, 1844.

slaves to escape. Convicted, in early 1845 he began a prison term which was to terminate on April 2, 1851. During the months he served time in the Baltimore jail, Torrey's story became prime news of the abolition movement. His supporters built a "martyr fund," and abolition journals urged contributions. Anti-slavery organizations listened to speakers who praised him and condemned Maryland law, then adopted resolutions approving his course. Even Garrison, for all his former rancor, eventually announced that he could excuse the imprudence of Torrey's method of helping the Negro. Friends planned to publish letters and papers which he had written in jail. Abolition journals faithfully described the prison work he did, listed the books he received, enumerated his visitors and reported on his physical condition. On June 18, 1845, the *Emancipator and Chronicle* said that a correspondent had visited Torrey and found him in good health, with a clean room, good food, light labors, and opportunity to attend worship, read, or to write letters for himself and his fellow prisoners. But, said the paper, there was no prospect of his release. Meanwhile, however, his religious influence over the other prisoners was excellent. The same publication offered a five verse Torrey lament on conditions for liberty in the United States and in November the paper urged the readers to "Remember Torrey at the polls."<sup>15</sup>

Then in the fall of 1845 Torrey's visitors reported that his health had failed. His eyes were dim, they said, and his voice hoarse, his body emaciated, his movements feeble and his spirits extremely depressed. He would surely die unless his family and friends could secure his release for proper care.<sup>16</sup>

Some months previously, Torrey's father-in-law, Reverend Jacob Ide, had investigated the possibilities for obtaining a pardon from Maryland's governor. In April Mrs. Torrey had reported to her husband that if he would promise never to "go to those States FOR THAT PURPOSE AGAIN" certain influential members of the Senate would probably petition for his pardon. Even the governor of Massachusetts would intercede for him.<sup>17</sup> But Charles Torrey was an obstinate man and would not promise. So in January, 1846, his friends began a new procedure. At that time

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, December 11, 25, 1844, January 1, February 12, March 5, June 18, October 29, November 5, 1845, May 27, 1846; *Liberator*, December 13, 20, 1844, January 3, 1845; *Niles' National Register*, 67: 213 (November 30, 1844); Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-214.

<sup>16</sup> *Emancipator*, October 22, 1845; *Liberator*, December 5, 1845.

<sup>17</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

Amos A. Phelps went South for an interview with the Maryland governor. He learned only that Torrey would die unless he left the prison very soon.<sup>18</sup> Then Mrs. Torrey wrote the state executive and admitted that her husband had assisted runaway slaves, but said that he had done so only after they had made their own decision to flee. "I feel authorized," she wrote, "to give the fullest assurance, both to you and the people of Maryland, that my husband will never visit your State for that purpose."<sup>19</sup> Friends assured Southerners that most Northerners disapproved of actions such as Torrey's and vouched for his good behavior after release. In March Amos A. Phelps sent the governor a duplicate of a letter originally sent the previous August, asking if Torrey could be released without dishonorable concessions, what promises he might have to make, how much money he would need, and if release from Maryland would automatically excuse him on the Virginia charge. Phelps hoped to gain Torrey's freedom on payment of counsel and court costs and so engaged a defense attorney and announced that he hoped to effect release in two or three weeks. Maryland authorities would not say that release there would cancel extradition to Virginia for trial in the Webb case. In addition, Heckrotte, believing that the state legislature was about to reimburse him for his loss, had little interest in the disposal of Torrey's case. By March, 1846, negotiations had become so involved and Torrey's health so impaired that his agents withdrew their offer of payment and determined to use the money for his family after his certain death.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, details of the story filled the columns of abolition journals. The *Liberator* promised a chronicle of Torrey's life and religious experience; another paper announced a forthcoming book by the martyr himself.<sup>21</sup> Still another quoted a reader who hailed him as a third martyr—with John Mahan and Elijah Lovejoy—and concluded, "... Torrey is pining away in a Penitentiary, with no hope of deliverance, until death shall break his fetters, and loosen the iron grasp of the *merciless despots*."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké 1822-1844* (2 vols., New York, 1934), II, 997, 1006-1007; *Emancipator*, May 6, 20, 1846.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 1846.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, May 20, 1846; *Liberator*, February 27, 1846; Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-292.

<sup>21</sup> *Liberator*, January 9, 1846; *Emancipator*, April 8, 1846.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, May 6, 1846. In 1838 John B. Mahan, an Ohio minister, went to jail in Kentucky on a charge of aiding slaves to escape.

Then in April, 1846, American abolitionists learned that prison authorities had hospitalized Torrey and that he could live but a short time. Some frantically demanded his release that he might die in peace. In Boston a Torrey Committee of forty met to arrange obsequies and burial. They discussed funds for a monument and considered future finances for his family. Torrey's pastor went to Baltimore and gave him communion. Other ministers led their congregations in prayers for the doomed man. Posterity, declared Henry B. Stanton, would do justice to "our fallen friend."<sup>23</sup>

On May 9, 1846, Charles Torrey died. Abolition editors described his return to Boston in his zinc-lined cherry coffin with the small window in the lid and called his friends to services scheduled for Park Street Church, but Torrey was no more acceptable to Park Street Congregationalists than he was to Maryland slaveholders. A few hours before the services the Torrey Committee received a curt note in which the church trustees cancelled their previous permit for use of the building. Torrey's friends carried him to Tremont Temple where he lay in state for three hours. Abolition ministers of several denominations conducted the rites. Each pastor offered prayer. Then the Reverend Joseph C. Lovejoy of Cambridgeport, brother of the fallen Elijah, took his text from the eighteenth verse of the one-hundred-fifth psalm: "Whose feet they hurt with fetters: he was laid in iron," and in developing the theme reviewed all the trouble which had befallen Torrey because of his resolve to work for the Negro's freedom. As he concluded, the mourners, amongst whom were many clergymen from the surrounding region and a number of Negroes, filed silently out to enter carriages or to go afoot with the procession to Mount Auburn cemetery. Others of Torrey's friends stood at the church door and accepted contributions for the distressed widow and children.<sup>24</sup>

Torrey was no more, but his death—biggest news in the abolition crusade since the sacrifice of Lovejoy—brought a new climax to the movement. Sympathetic editors draped their pages in heavy black lines and presented the story under large headlines. Over and over they called him martyr. Abolition papers published

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, April 29, May 13, 20, 1846; *Liberator*, April 24, May 8, 1846.

<sup>24</sup> *Emancipator*, May 20, 27, 1846; *Baltimore Sun*, May 11, 18, 1846; Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-308.

reems of rhymed laments for Torrey. Americans held dozens of Torrey meetings. In New England they gathered in Assonet Village, in Lowell, and in Charlestown in his native state, as well as in Bangor, Maine. For some weeks after Torrey's death, Joseph C. Lovejoy repeated his funeral sermon to as many eastern congregations as would schedule him. Torrey's own minister reported on his last visit with the martyr. In Cincinnati Salmon P. Chase presided over a meeting which condemned Maryland's treatment of the dead man. General Samuel Fessenden of Maine presided at a Boston meeting in which Ellis Gray Loring, Francis Jackson, John G. Whittier, Henry B. Stanton, Walter Channing, and Joseph C. Lovejoy participated. Negroes at Oberlin College, a white group in Salem, Ohio, citizens in Galesburg, Illinois, met in their respective towns and approved his actions. Boston Negroes pledged to live in the sacred memory of his name. Some clergymen printed their Torrey sermons and offered the pamphlets for sale. Alvan Stewart wept for the martyr as he spoke before the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, the martyr fund committee collected money for the family and for a suitable monument. Collectors worked in New England and farther west. Boston friends hired a minister, Hiram Cummings, to spend a short period during which he gave full time to money collecting in that vicinity. Abolition groups gave the contributions from the annual Independence Day anti-slavery programs. By mid-July the committee had over sixteen hundred dollars and was sending out request cards to be returned with money by early fall.<sup>26</sup>

It was a long time before the Torrey excitement abated. In January, 1849, Wendell Phillips, in reviewing Boston's local anti-slavery history, said, "Where is Park Street? Refusing to receive within its walls, for funeral services, the body of the only martyr the orthodox Congregationalists of New England have had, Charles T. Torrey, and of whom they were not worthy."<sup>27</sup> Maryland had helped provide the abolition movement with another martyr whose story became of great use in kindling anti-slavery zeal in the last years of the fiery crusade.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 297, 322, 325-328, 360; *Emancipator*, May 20, 27, June 3, 10, 17, 24, July 1, 8, 29, 1846.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, June 3, 17, 24, July 1, 8, 15, 29, August 26, September 9, 1846; *Liberator*, June 12, 1846.

<sup>27</sup> Carlos Martyn (ed.), *Wendell Phillips, the Agitator* (New York, 1890), p. 219.



## GILMOR'S FIELD REPORT OF HIS RAID IN BALTIMORE COUNTY

Edited by GEOFFREY W. FIELDING

SEVERAL papers of Lt. Col. Harry Gilmor, the Maryland-born Confederate cavalry officer, famous for his constant harassing of Union troops during the Civil War, have been acquired by the Maryland Historical Society.\* They include a ten-page report of Gilmor's daring raid into Maryland as far north as the Gunpowder River in July, 1864; numerous letters from lady friends; a number of military communications and three letters from George P. Kane, Maryland's "most loyal rebel."

By far the most important is his report on his raid into Baltimore County, dated July 8, 1864, less than two weeks after the event. It is addressed to Captain G. W. Booth, assistant adjutant general to General Bradley T. Johnson, commander of the Maryland brigade of cavalry in the Confederate Army.

Actually the letter adds little to our present knowledge of the raid, gleaned, for the most part, from Gilmor's own book, *Four Years in the Saddle*,<sup>1</sup> and newspaper accounts.<sup>2</sup> But whereas the book was completed a year after the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, the letter retains the freshness of a campaign immediately recorded and committed to paper and posterity.

Also, whereas in the book Colonel Gilmor was compelled to withhold the names of many people connected with the raid, due to the bitter feeling still abroad, such was not the case in the letter. In the book, for instance, he mentions Captain Owings, his quartermaster, simply as Captain O——. In the same paragraph, he refers to H—— G——, probably his cousin, Hoffman Gilmor.

\* The manuscripts were purchased from a local dealer through the generosity of Mrs. Robert Gilmor and the Bradley T. Johnson Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy.

<sup>1</sup> (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1866), pp. 191-208.

<sup>2</sup> See *Baltimore American*, July 11, 12, 13, 14, 1864, and *Baltimore Sun*, same dates.



In other cases, however, reference to the book is required, to find out who did what and when. For instance, the one man killed during the raid is written off in the report with the following few words: "My loss during the whole trip was probably six men captured while straggling and one man shot by a Union man and mortally wounded while trying to pull down the United States flag which was over his yard gate." Devoting three paragraphs to this incident in the book, Gilmor tells us that the man killed was Sergeant William Fields of Baltimore, shot by a farmer, Ishmael Day, who managed to escape after the shooting.<sup>3</sup>

It might be well to mention the overall plan of the 1864 invasion of Maryland, so that one can more fully appreciate the part played by Colonel Gilmor and his small force. As General Jubal Early planned it, a large force of men was to cross the Potomac and endeavor to reach Washington, D. C. While this force was heading towards the Capital, a brigade under General Bradley T. Johnson was to push through New Windsor, Westminster, and Reisterstown and cut the railroad and telegraph from Baltimore to Harrisburg at Cockeysville.<sup>4</sup>

At this point, Gilmor was to detach himself and force his way with three hundred cavalry and two light field pieces to the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore (later the Pennsylvania) Railroad at Magnolia. Here he was to cut the railroad and telegraph lines leading north. While Gilmor was carrying out his part of the plan, Johnson's brigade was to head across country to Beltsville and cut the railroad between Baltimore and Washington, and then drive to Point Lookout at the southernmost tip of St. Mary's county. There, keeping a rendezvous with an armed Confederate raider under the command of Captain John Taylor Wood, he was to release the ten or twelve thousand Confederate prisoners held there, and march back to Washington. These men would then be armed from the Union arsenals in the city of Washington.

All in all, only four days were to be allowed for the whole maneuver, from the time General Johnson detached his brigade from General Early's army near Frederick, until he was supposed to be in Washington with the released prisoners. As it was, Early

<sup>3</sup> See *American*, July 13, 1864, p. 1, col. 7; *Sun*, July 13, 1864, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See J. A. Early, *Lieutenant General Jubal Anderson Early C. S. A.* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1912), pp. 380-395; also his *Memoir of the Last Year of the War for Independence in the Confederate States* (Lynchburg, 1867), pp. 61-62.

defeated General Lew Wallace at the Battle of Monocacy (but was delayed in doing so) and then headed towards Washington. Johnson moved across country and reached Cockeysville in Baltimore County, where he cut the railroad tracks and telegraph. From there, he headed towards Beltsville, while Colonel Gilmor carried out his part of the campaign with a cavalry force numbering only 135 men and no field pieces!

Johnson camped overnight at the "Caves," the home of John Carroll, in the Green Spring Valley. While there, a scout brought word that all available transportation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was concentrated at Locust Point, and that the Nineteenth Corps and part of the Sixth Corps were on transports from General Grant's army, and were expected hourly. This intelligence was immediately forwarded to General Early, who was then closing in on Washington, and Johnson headed towards Beltsville on his way to Point Lookout.

The following morning, while moving south towards Upper Marlboro, a courier from General Early overtook Johnson with orders for him to report at once to General Early at Silver Spring. This General Johnson did, and he found the whole of Early's force in retreat. Late the previous day, General Early had reached the barricades erected around Washington with an Army almost worn out from fighting and the long march. Because of this, he delayed the attack until the following morning. When it was light enough to see, General Early found the defenses lined with troops, presumably those from General Grant's army, and decided to give up all hope of capturing the city. It was a hard decision to make, but one which no doubt saved countless lives.

The army was harried during its retreat through Rockville to Poolesville, but the enemy was held in check until General Early had recrossed to the Virginia shore.

After the invasion, General Robert E. Lee claimed that the cutting of the railroad and telegraph lines between Baltimore and Philadelphia was the only part of the Maryland campaign that was carried out successfully.<sup>5</sup> Gilmor claims that with just a few more men, he could have taken Baltimore easily. General Early regretted that a full brigade had not been put at Gilmor's disposal.<sup>6</sup>

With this brief background, one can more readily understand the reasons behind the Maryland invasion of 1864 and the part

<sup>5</sup> Gilmor, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

which Gilmor so ably played and describes in his report to Captain Booth, which is as follows:

Hd. Qtrs. 2nd. Md. Cavalry,  
28th. July, 1864.

Captain:

In accordance with an order just rec'd from Brigade Hd Qtrs, I have the honor respectfully to report, that after the destruction of the bridges on the Northern Central R Rd <sup>7</sup> by Johnson's brigade on the 11th July I was ordered by the Brig Gen. Comdg.<sup>8</sup> to select one hundred men from my own, and 1st Md Battalion and make an effort to destroy the bridge over the Gunpowder on the Phila, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, I took all of my own com'd present with serviceable horse and fifty of the 1st Md under command of Lt. W. H. Dorsey (Co D)<sup>10</sup> and in all one hundred and thirty-five men, and leaving Cockeysville took the road towards Baltimore, and followed that direction as far as the toll gate near Timonium on the N C R Rd. Here I turned to the left and moved on a country road Striking the *Old* York Road at Mr. Ridgely's place (Hampton) 9 miles north of Balto, where I again turned to the North and followed the pike to the Gunpowder river which I crossed & moved in a north-easterly direction through "Dulaney's [*sic*] Valley" to a point about (4) four miles north of the Gunpowder where I turned to the right & crossed the ridge into "Long Green Valley" where I encamped for the night on the estate of Mr. Joshua Price. Starting at sunrise next morning I took a direct course to the Gunpowder river at Magnolia, destroying the Telegraph lines on the Harford, Belair, and Philadelphia pikes and arriving near the Philadelphia rail road about 9½ o'clock on the morning of the 12th. On getting near the railroad I took twenty men & moved very rapidly down to the station to secure the telegraph operator & had scarcely arrived before a train was heard coming, which was boarded as soon as it arrived at the Station and secured.

The passengers & prisoners, were made to leave the train and it was fired for the purpose of being run up to the Bush river bridge but after starting the fires it was discovered that the engineer had not only been allowed to escape, but had done something to the machinery & made it impossible to start the engine therefore was obliged to let the train burn where it stood at the station. The conductor of this train informed me that another train would soon be there and after disposing some sharp shooters along the the track we had not long to wait. This train was taken some distance below where the first was stopped & consisted of 12 cars in all, filled with passengers & some few officers, & Soldiers. As soon as I had captured the second train, I sent Capt. Brewer <sup>11</sup> down

<sup>7</sup> Now the Pennsylvania Railroad.

<sup>8</sup> Bradley T. Johnson.

<sup>9</sup> Now the Pennsylvania Railroad.

<sup>10</sup> Company "D," First Maryland Cavalry.

<sup>11</sup> Not further identified. W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865* (1900), p. 241, states that he could not find a muster

the track with a flag of truce to demand the immediate surrender of the bridge but the reply was that they were not yet ready! While Capt. Brewer was gone I had the train fired & this time took good care that the engine should be kept under a head of Steam sufficient to run her back on the bridge. While we were setting the train on fire & Capt Brewer was returning from the bridge I sent Capt James Bailey<sup>12</sup> with thirty men to drive the Yankee infantry from the bank of the river, out on the bridge, but ordered him to keep his men scattered to prevent the Gun Boat<sup>13</sup> from doing any harm. Capt. Bailey Showed his force & that was Sufficient, for the Federals soon started out on the bridge to the Gun Boat, but before they got more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the shore, the burning mass was backed down on them and they were obliged to jump overboard to keep from being burned, how many were drowned I cant say but as the life boats from the Gun Boat were some time getting there I have no doubt half of them went to the bottom. Hope so at least. Having Started the train with a very light head of Steam I had the satisfaction of seeing her stop directly on the drawbridge which was the most important part of the bridge and which was totally destroyed with a very large portion of the bridge both East and West of the draw.<sup>14</sup> There was some twenty or thirty officers on board but as all were either on sick leave or discharged, I brought out only five, four besides Maj. Genl. [William B.] Franklin who had been wounded in the Red river expedition, in the lower part of his leg. Having destroyed everything around the station belonging to the rail road including two trains & three engines, I sent a Messenger to the Gun Boat with a communication to the Comdg officer giving him permission to come ashore and take off all the passengers that we had detained. I would here state and if necessary will make affidavit to the fact that not one single citizen complained to me of having been robbed of any thing, nor were any of the prisoners robbed except in one instance and then he failed to recognize the man whom he said had robbed him of \$800. All the baggage was piled at the side of the track & a guard furnished the Bagage Master who delivered to each what he or she had a check for. I left the rail road at 4 o'clock P. M. and getting on the Philadelphia Pike moved towards Balto until I got to the 12 mile stone where I took a country road and Struck across for Towson Town on the York road 7 miles from Baltimore. Here I intended to halt and feed but had hardly posted my pickets before they were attacked & driven in by a cavalry force coming from towards Baltimore. I at once put 12 men under Capt. N[icholas]. Owings Q[arter] M[aster] of my Batn [Battalion] in charge of the prisoners & having indicated to Capt. Owings the road I wished him to take was obliged to turn the head of my small command down the road to meet the Federal Cavalry which was right

roll of Gilmor's battalion. It was said that Gilmor was as likely to use his own commission to light his pipe as to preserve or take any care of it!

<sup>12</sup> Not further identified.

<sup>13</sup> The *Juniata*.

<sup>14</sup> It was not until July 24 that train service was restored between Baltimore and Philadelphia.

before me driving my pickets before them. With a Strong yell we charged down on them though it was so dark we could not see a man of them and after a short stand, they broke in confusion & went back towards Balto as hard as they could run. We followed them closely until within 4 miles of Balti but when we left they were still running as hard as they could. I then hauled off & returning to Towson Town took a westerly direction crossing the Northern Central rail road at Rider's Switch<sup>15</sup> and striking the Reistertown pike at Owings Mills.<sup>16</sup> It was near this place that I over[took] Capt. Owings's party & found every man asleep and the Maj Genl gone. The men were so much exhausted that it was unf[air to ask them to keep awake]<sup>17</sup> I could not d[o it]<sup>17</sup> myself and found myself continually falling asleep and my horse sloffing in a fence corner. I searched for the General for at least three hours and then went in to camp on the farm of Mr. Oliver on the western side of the Reisterstown road near Pikes Ville at daylight which is 8 miles from Balto. I had scarcely slept an hour before I was awakened and told by a citizen, who came for the purpose, that there was about one hundred yanks cavalry & Union League men in the woods about a mile from Mr. Oliver's on the East Side of the Reisterstown pike.

I immediately sent off all the weakest horses in charge of Capt. Redman Burke<sup>18</sup> with the 4 prisoners still in my possession and taking 50 men went after the party in the woods which had gone a short time before we got there. I then went in to Pikesville and sent ten men toward Balto to the "7 mile house" under Sergt Travers,<sup>19</sup> who ran off the pickets stationed at that place & drove them to within three miles of the City and returned at his leisure to Pikes Ville where we staid until 3 o'clock P. M.

After leaving Pikes Ville we marched to Randallstown & thence to Poolsville [and keeping to] the way roads to keep from running into enemy cavalry which had advanced above Rock Ville. A few hours after my arrival on the pike near Poolsville the Yankees had advanced to that place in large force. At that point I joined my brigade & reported to Brig. Gen. Johnson.

During the whole time, and under the most trying circumstances both men & officers behaved with coolness skill and courage and though they suffered very much from loss of sleep & could scarcely sit on their horses they were always obedient.

My loss during the whole trip was probably 6 men captured while

<sup>15</sup> Now Riderwood.

<sup>16</sup> Actually he reached the Reisterstown pike about two miles further south, near Trentham, family home of the Cradocks.

<sup>17</sup> Bracketed words give the apparent intended sense. The letter is torn at this place.

<sup>18</sup> Not identified. Captain Nicholas Burke, Company "A," and Captain John Burke and First Lieutenant Polk Burke, Company "D," Second Maryland Cavalry, are listed by Goldsborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247.

<sup>19</sup> Probably Alonzo Travers, First Sergeant, Company "A," 2nd Maryland Cavalry.

straggling & one man<sup>20</sup> shot by a union man<sup>21</sup> & mortally wounded while trying to pull down the United States flag which was over his yard gate. this man escaped but I caused every building on his place to be burned to the ground.

These are the main facts and nothing else of importance having taken place I beg leave to suscribe myself,

Yours with respect

H. W. Gilmor

Maj. Comdg. 2nd. Md. Cav.

To Capt. G. W. Booth<sup>22</sup>  
Assistant adjutant general  
Johnsons Cavalry

<sup>20</sup> Sergeant William Fields, Company "C," Second Maryland Cavalry.

<sup>21</sup> Ishmael Day. See Note 3.

<sup>22</sup> George W. Booth, who was successively First Lieutenant, Company "D," First Maryland Infantry; Assistant Adjutant, First Maryland Cavalry (November, 1862); and Captain (November, 1863).



## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Maryland in World War II. Volume II: Industry and Agriculture.* Prepared for the State of Maryland by the War Records Division (HAROLD R. MANAKEE, Director) of the Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore, 1951. xi, 594 pp. \$3. (by mail \$3.25; Md. sales tax 6¢ extra).

This book on industry and agriculture is the second in the projected series of four volumes to be published under the general title of *Maryland in World War II*. The earlier volume dealt with the State's military participation. Volume III will cover such homefront activities as civilian defense, the Red Cross, and the USO, while Volume IV will contain the honor roll of Maryland citizens who died in the service of their country.

Although the 594-page volume of industry and agriculture is divided into six parts, more than 80 per cent of the entire book is included in Part Three, which is given over to a company-by-company description of the individual accomplishments of some 900 Maryland firms that were engaged in war work of one kind or another. The majority of these concerns were manufacturers, but some steamship lines, railroads, public utilities, contractors, wholesalers, and trucking companies were also listed.

This section of the book, which is arranged in alphabetical-geographical order, brings to life the summary statistics given on page 564 regarding the five-and-a-half billion dollars in supply and facility contracts that were allocated to Maryland during World War II. As much of the information incorporated in Part Three consists of hitherto unpublished material obtained by means of special questionnaires, it constitutes the only basic reference work in this field. Nothing comparable to this presentation is available for any previous wartime period.

Part Two comprises a brief analysis, with some amplification, of the figures given in the table on page 564, while Part Four discusses the war activities undertaken in Maryland by a number of out-of-State firms.

The chapter on agriculture (Part One) gives a comparatively short but highly interesting account of the many contributions made by the farming community to the State's war effort. The wartime operations of the Port of Baltimore are described in the thirteen pages of Part Five, with some attention being given to both the permanent and the emergency port agencies.

The role of Federal agencies in Maryland during the war is reviewed in Part Six. The scope of this section, however, is restricted to such non-

military agencies as the Office of Defense Transportation, the Baltimore Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, the War Manpower Commission, and one or two others.

It would have been desirable if some of the shorter chapters had been given more extended treatment, but the general plan of the book and the resulting limitations of space probably prevented a fuller discussion of all the major subjects mentioned.

From an overall standpoint, Mr. Manakee and his associates have done an excellent job in selecting the material to be presented from the great mass of data that had been assembled by them. Although an occasional minor error was detected by this reviewer, it is apparent that the task of editing and proofreading has been done in a very careful manner. The book is enlivened by the inclusion of 56 pages of halftones, embracing well over 100 individual illustrations. The usefulness of the volume for reference purposes is further enhanced by the 23 appendices which contain pertinent statistics, lists of names, and other helpful tabulations.

Even a casual examination of the book will demonstrate its unique value as a convenient source of information for teachers, research workers, and other individuals who are concerned with Maryland's industrial and agricultural activities during World War II.

Written in easy-to-read style, this volume not only fills the need for a comprehensive picture of local industrial and agricultural developments during the recent wartime period (1939-46), but also represents an important contribution to the growing body of literature on the economic history of Maryland.

W. S. HAMILL

*The Western Maryland Railway Story.* By HAROLD A. WILLIAMS.  
Baltimore: Western Maryland Railway, 1952. 134 pp.

This short history of the Western Maryland Railway, on the occasion of the company's one hundredth anniversary, is both attractive and highly interesting. The volume is an example of outstanding typography as well as fine bookmaking. The illustrations, particularly the contemporary photographs by A. Aubrey Bodine, are fully in keeping with the top character of the presentation.

The text is a well written account of the founding, the early and later struggles, and the major accomplishments of the Western Maryland Railway. The author, who has obviously done much original research, has wisely tried to confine himself to various highlights in the company's history or the text would have bogged down in a mass of material in regard to changing plans, changing ownerships, and violent public controversies which have no current interest to the general reader. As an example of well designed efforts to attract reader attention the author has devoted one of the ten chapters to "When Lincoln Went to Gettysburg"

although only a comparatively short portion of President Lincoln's rail route later became the property of the Western Maryland.

The chapter titled "Summertime in the Blue Ridge," with the background of which this reviewer is particularly familiar, presents, with few exceptions, a thoroughly satisfactory and interesting picture of a long extended but bygone era when hundreds of thousands each year went mountainward, for the day or the season, via the Western Maryland Railway.

The preface, by Eugene S. Williams, Chairman of the Board, is most informative and useful as it at least mentions a number of later important executives of the railway whose names, on account of space requirements, do not appear in the text. The book is so uniformly excellent that the lack of an adequate map is the sole regret.

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

*Virginia's Eastern Shore.* By RALPH T. WHITE LAW. (Edited by GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON.) Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1951. 2 vols. \$17.50.

Northampton and Accomack Counties, separated from the rest of Virginia by the breadth of the Chesapeake and contained to the East by the Atlantic, have enjoyed until recently a remarkable geographic isolation. While many of the sons and daughters of this genial peninsula followed the westward trend, often to win distinction, there has always been a goodly number who realized the blessings nature had showered on them and stayed at home to pass on their fertile acres from father to son. In this quiet and most beautiful backwater tradition crystallized undisturbed; a gracious architecture developed; people tended to become highly individualized, with a gift for swift humorous conversation; time and hard work were put in their proper place.

The existence of this pleasant way of life has now become known to a small group—distinct from that vast floating body of Americans whose cars whirl them about in search of the quaint and picturesque—who question the values of the Machine Age and seek to escape them by a more or less reasoned return to the past. These people, now taking over many old estates on the Virginia Eastern Shore, tend to become fascinated by the traditions of their newly-bought acres, and often seek to assimilate themselves with them. They have powerfully reinforced the demand long felt by students of American history for a first-rate chronicle of this interesting region.

This demand has been splendidly met by the late Mr. Ralph T. White Law in a monumental two-volume work sponsored by the Virginia Historical Society. The project was begun in 1935 in close collaboration with Miss Anne Floyd Upshur. Starting modestly with the taking of snapshots of old houses, the interest of the collaborators became more deeply

engaged. "There came," says Mr. Whitelaw, "an insatiable desire to know more about these houses; what was the history of each site, who had lived there, when were the houses built, and by whom? Traditions were interesting, but often unreliable, so a search of old records started . . . the result of this is a story of the land and its owners rather than the usual chronological history of its economic and social development."

This basic concern with the land was never abandoned by the collaborators, whose patience and thoroughness is measured by the fact that 896 separate patents were examined. In this work they were greatly aided by the fact that Northampton County (and Accomack, which was one with Northampton until 1663) possess what are believed to be the oldest county records in the United States, the first recorded court meeting being dated January 7, 1632. For more than a century the books were kept in private homes and their survival is a miracle. Survive they did, however. The problem of simplifying and making accessible the involved mass of detail rising out of this research was a formidable one, adequately met by the use of patent maps of each County with a number series and letter symbols indicating buildings and historical sites. While one is a bit dismayed, on first opening the volumes, by these intricacies of reference and indexing, further acquaintance will convince the student that the mechanism devised by Mr. Whitelaw is the best possible one for making available the subject in which he is most interested.

And with that further acquaintance, what a wealth of fascinating detail is revealed! Again and again the collaborators provide in a few terse paragraphs material for a whole historical novel, characters and background included. There is the story of Mrs. Ann Toft, mistress of the plantation "Gargaphia," with her many marriages and her three daughters Arcadia, Atalanta, and Annabella. There is the Indian Debedeavon, "the Laughing King," whose tragi-comic figure comes in sight with the discovery, many years after, in the garden of a house he was known to have visited, of a curious gold ring engraved with bow and arrows. The furious quarrels of John Custis IV and his wife receive attention; astonishing epitaphs are taken from remote burying grounds; the personalities of great trees, like the incredible hackberry at Pear Plain, are saluted in passing; a wealth of architectural information is made available, to a running accompaniment of good informal illustrations.

In short, if the duty of a reviewer is, in part, to search out the flaws in the book before him, Mr. Whitelaw has provided few opportunities for attack. It has been suggested, perhaps with justice, that so comprehensive a history should have shown greater concern with the fauna of the region. The thought also occurs that this history of Accomack and Northampton is a valedictory to a charming way of life, to whose passing Mr. Whitelaw gives impetus by his book. Its size, its price will keep it from wide distribution, but it is certain to fall into the hands of people whose vague designs on the Eastern Shore will be galvanized into action by these fascinating volumes.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

*Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600-1677.* By NATHANIEL C. HALE. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951. xiv, 340 pp. \$5.

The William Claiborne who emerges from this portrait is an enterprising trader, a daring and impulsive individual whose personality and motives are clear-cut and consistent. The picture includes his English background and his public life in Virginia as Company Surveyor, Royal Secretary and Treasurer of the Colony, Parliamentary Commissioner, Burgess, Councillor, soldier, merchant venturer and landed gentleman. There is glamour and excitement in the story of the fight for a monopoly of the Indian trade in the Chesapeake, centering in the control of Kent and Palmer's islands. Supported by hardy frontiersmen who were his devoted followers, he three times invaded Maryland and fought Baltimore's agents there for two decades; at court, supported by William Cloberry and Company and Virginia's colonial agents, he fought Lord Baltimore himself. He survived the changing regimes in Virginia for half a century because he was never an extremist except in his opposition to the Calverts, and since he identified his own business interests with those of Virginia, he usually had the support of the government at Jamestown.

Colonel Hale has written a life-and-times study which he calls a "historical biography" because of the disproportionate amount of emphasis on background influences. It would have been a conventional biography, a better balanced and more interesting book, if he had used broader strokes in painting the background of events in Virginia and in England during Claiborne's boyhood. The author shows an intimate knowledge of Claiborne as he is revealed in the extant records; though hampered by the absence of personal papers of any sort, the skillful use of documentary sources produces a convincing and colorful story. Since Claiborne's first interest was trade, the history is written with a strong commercial emphasis; it plays down other motives and distorts the background, which constitutes a third of the book. The shifting alignments and conflicting interests at court and in Virginia and Maryland are handled with admirable dexterity, however, and there are vivid descriptions of the locale, naval engagements in the Chesapeake, and identifying thumb-nail sketches of the other actors on the scene.

*Virginia Venturer* is a provocative book, for the reader would like to argue the point with the author on each successive controversial issue in an age that was controversial and is still interpreted from conflicting viewpoints. For this reviewer, the arrangement within the chapters of sub-heads which should be suggestive or stimulating is only provoking, as is the bibliography, which is merely an alphabetical, uncritical list. The narrative itself, however, seldom provokes the reader; the story moves with increasing acceleration, and the author shows no reluctance to reach a conclusion and no tendency to hedge on any point.

JANE CARSON

*Institute of Early American  
History and Culture*



*Der Ewige Traum [The Eternal Dream]*. By JOSEF FEIKS. Zurich: Benziger Verlag, 1950. 375 pp.

The prominent role played in recent years by this country has attracted the attention of many foreign writers, particularly historians and novelists. Their interest does not only extend to modern times, but to the very inception of this country's history, as evidenced by this novel.

The author of *Der ewige Traum*, Josef Feiks of Vienna, portrays in his historical novel the first Lord Baltimore (George Calvert) and the preparations for his projected journey to the New World. The novel gives evidence of intensive historical studies in the preparation of this book.

The character of Lord Baltimore as depicted in this novel follows quite faithfully the facts known to the historian. Baltimore appears as a man of determination, decision, and vision, cherishing his "eternal dream" for the New World which was to bring liberty to the oppressed and persecuted of an old and unhappy Europe. Even though it was not to be his privilege to establish on the American continent a new way of life, still he made the necessary preparations for an expedition which ultimately brought his son Leonard and an enthusiastic group of colonists to these shores.

Prominent roles are also played in this novel by Baltimore's sons, Cecil and Leonard. Feiks introduces a love-motive by inventing the character of a Lady Mary. She appears at first as the fiancée of Cecil, and later on as being engaged to Leonard. Also interesting is the character of Baltimore's faithful old servant, William, another invention of the author.

Feiks deviates from historical facts when he comes to the end of his story: according to the author, Lord Baltimore died suddenly at the hand of an assassin, only a few moments after he had received the charter from the king. It is, of course, the privilege of a novelist to create characters and situations in order to present a complete picture of his story.

If this novel were translated into English, it could be enjoyed by many who admire Lord Baltimore's great enterprising spirit.

LEO A. BEHRENDT

*The Catholic University of America*

*Yankee Priest*. By EDWARD F. MURPHY. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1952. 316 pp. \$3.50.

"It began normally enough that natal day of mine in Salem, Massachusetts, July 21, 1892, but before noon it went wild. A blaze leapt up in Mrs. Fogarty's downstairs tenement. . . ." So Father Murphy starts us off in his swift-paced anecdotal review of a busy, apostolic, and inspiring life filled with a great love of God and an equally warm affection for his fellow-men.

Marylanders will especially enjoy the author's recounting of his early



days at the old Epiphany College in the Walbrook section of Baltimore, and later at St. Joseph's and St. Mary's on Paca Street. Then, as a member of the Josephite Order, dedicated to work among the colored, he tells us of how initially discouraging was his work, but how much more heartening things now look. We find him at St. Barnabas' Church in Baltimore, and then in New Orleans as pastor of a church and professor at the great Catholic institution for Negroes, Xavier University. His vigorous mind, facile pen, and charming Irish personality brought him a host of famous friends and bring us a wealth of humorous and inspiring anecdotes about them. What if Father Murphy has Bishop Fulton J. Sheen coming from Wisconsin, and what if he sometimes taxes our credulity with the too neat turns to his every story? These are small flaws in a most enjoyable book.

For his grand work on behalf of the colored, and for a charming book, we repeat the unique Irish blessing of one of his friends, "Father dear, may you be in heaven half an hour before the Divvil knows you're dead."

GEORGE ZORN, S. J.

Woodstock College

*The Story of America's Oldest Museum Building.* By WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR. Baltimore: Peale Museum, 1952. [20 pp.].

Museum, City Hall, Bureau of Water Supply, factory, and again Museum—these are just some of the uses to which America's oldest museum building has been put. Known to the present generation as a treasure house of Baltimoreana, the Peale Museum and its history should be of interest to many. In his little booklet, Mr. Hunter has emphasized the Museum's beginnings under Rembrandt Peale. That gentleman's career, his painting, his financial struggles, his interest in science ranging from the skeleton of a mammoth to gas lights, is, indeed, the most interesting part of the building's history. The building in its various stages is described in some detail, from the original design down to the restoration that made the museum what it is today. While live animals are no longer a part of the exhibit and advertisements in the newspaper are no longer thought necessary, one has the feeling on reading this account that the city owes much to those public spirited citizens who were responsible for the return of the building to its original purpose.

*A School for Bishops.* By NELLIE W. JONES. Baltimore: 1952. ix, 150 pp. \$2.95.

The Church of St. Michael and All Angels is not an old one as Episcopal churches go in Maryland. The celebration in 1951 of the 75th anniversary of its establishment was the occasion for publishing this his-

tory. Mrs. Jones has given us a very readable story written in an unaffectedly reverent style. She has used the records of the parish effectively, and she received help from many persons (or their families) who participated in its activities. As four of the eight rectors of St. Michael and All Angels became bishops, the reason for the selection of the title is apparent. With regret one finds no index—against which possibility some law, canon or civil, ought to prevail.

*American Small Sailing Craft.* By HOWARD I. CHAPPELLE. New York: Norton, 1951. xviii, 363 pp. \$7.50.

Mr. Chappelle is to be congratulated for an entertaining and at the same time highly useful account of American small sailing craft. His volume achieves several excellent purposes. It not only gathers together in one place a diverse and unique collection of boat designs, but provides, in addition, a series of accurate drawings complete with sail plans, hull dimensions and lines, and other significant details. While the drawings are necessarily small, being limited to the space of a standard book page, they are nevertheless sufficiently complete to enable anyone familiar with ship building practices to duplicate any of the boats presented either in model form or in full scale. With the drawings there is great deal of very informative text telling how the particular designs came into being, their history and original purposes, their faults and idiosyncracies, advantages and peculiarities.

There is an excellent and authoritative chapter on Colonial and Early American boats with much interesting information about the special conditions which brought about the creation of the special types. Marylanders and Chesapeake Bay enthusiasts will be particularly intrigued with the accounts of the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes, with the development of the "Flattie," the skipjacks, and the V-bottomed Bay skiffs of which there were about fourteen distinct types produced in Chesapeake waters between 1890 and 1920.

The book is recommended for everyone interested in sailing craft or in the history of their development.

GILBERT C. KLINGEL

*Early American Architecture.* By HUGH MORRISON. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1952. xiv, 619 pp. \$12.50.

Professor Morrison, of Dartmouth College, is internationally known to architectural historians for his brilliant study, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*. His new book will bring him a host of admirers from several additional groups. All American antiquarians and all who are interested in regional studies of early American architecture, both

professionals and laymen, are under a great debt to him. Professor Morrison has brought together in one volume the results of forty years of scholarship on the part of scores of specialists who have been interested in American architecture, both locally and nationally, from its inception to the period of the Revolution. He has clarified, synthesized, and added his own penetrating observations and comment. This is a careful history of the development of Colonial building from its essentially mediaeval origins to the flowering of a national style in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In addition there is a comprehensive survey of French and Spanish building, deriving primarily from Baroque prototypes, that flourished in the Mississippi valley, California, and the Southwest.

The scheme of the book presents a series of chapters on specific periods and geographical areas, with a detailed consideration following of individual structures. Naturally many local favorites are omitted, but all the really outstanding public buildings and private houses of America, before 1780, are here. In addition there are important remarks concerning many controversial subjects. The log-cabin myth is clarified; round-log houses were introduced by Swedes and Germans, and not used anywhere in the colonies before 1670. The extensive use of imported English brick is denied; bricks were made in Virginia as early as 1611 and in Maryland as early as 1639. Paint was not used on wooden exteriors until the early 18th century; conversely, paint was used on early furniture of the 17th and 18th centuries. The first sliding sash windows occurred in 1699 (in the Capitol at Williamsburg); before that time, and frequently afterwards, windows were small casements.

There is a valuable section on 17th century wooden construction, with illustrated (but not etymological) definitions of terms, many of which are still in current use. Marylanders will be pleased by the paragraphs on the important structures of the Annapolis area, and perhaps challenged by the statement that much more research needs to be done on William Buckland. Indeed, one of the stimulating effects of the book is the contrast existing between some topics that have been painstakingly and rewardingly explored by a handful of experts, and a number of other tantalizing problems that are waiting for similar intensive research by people who are, perhaps, unaware of the rich fields still to be explored in 17th and 18th century architectural history.

RICHARD H. HOWLAND

*Stiegel Glass.* By FREDERICK W. HUNTER. Introduction and Notes by HELEN MCKEARIN. New York: Dover Publications, 1950. xxii, 272 pp. \$10.

This unabridged edition of a book now rare enough to be a collector's item is well worth reading whether you are interested in early American glass, history, or good writing. Painstaking research often yields a dusty answer. Hunter, with faithful regard to documented proof, has given us a

human and readable story of Henry Stiegel and his times. We put the book down with the wish that the times could have dealt more kindly with this man of genius who came to seek his fortune in America and died broken in spirit and in poverty at the age of 56.

It was largely because of Hunter's zeal in bringing to light much data until 1911 unpublished that so much interest was aroused in the man and the beautiful glass he made in the 18th century. We are in Hunter's debt for the archaeological research performed at Mannheim, Pennsylvania, for glassmakers in America before Maryland's John Frederick Amelung did not mark or sign their pieces.

None knew better than Hunter that his was a pioneer work, and he would surely have welcomed the superb job Miss McKearin has done in bringing his book abreast of the times. Quick to admit she had the advantage of much research done since *Stiegel Glass* was published in 1911, Miss McKearin was equally quick to see that a word of correction or amplification here and there would add greatly to the value of this edition of the book. Hers must have been a work of love, and it gives us pause to wonder why many others must write with an acid pen when revising facts or judgments of those first in a field.

HARRIET N. MILFORD

*Yale University Portrait Index, 1701-1951.* [By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE]. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1951. 185 pp. \$5.

This handsome volume furnishes a list of 1,108 portraits by 412 artists. As such it is a highly convenient book of reference for students of American art. It was John Trumbull whose portraits of 200 personages active in the American Revolution formed in 1831 the basis of the Yale collection. Many Marylanders appear in the various group portraits in which the Trumbull collection abounds. Others are included in the John Hill Morgan collection, a major accession in 1940. Among individual portraits of persons of Maryland birth or association are Charles Carroll of Carrollton by Sully, Jonathan Boucher by Daniel Gardner, William Buckland by C. W. Peale, Mrs. James Carroll by C. W. Peale, Mrs. Charles Carroll, Jr., by Trumbull, Robert Hanson Harrison by Trumbull, George Peabody by Huntington, Rembrandt Peale by James Peale, and William Strickland by Neagle. The painting of Washington's Resignation at Annapolis by Trumbull affords likenesses of a number of citizens of this state. The book abounds in excellent reproductions of paintings.

J. W. F.

*A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, 1742-1899, Volume II.* By LEON DE VALINGER, JR. and VIRGINIA E. SHAW. Dover: Public Archives Commission, 1951. 344, 37 pp. \$6.

In this second \* volume of their *Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters* the editors have adhered closely to the plan described and to the method developed in the first volume (1948). In three "chapters," respectively, are presented "abstracts" of the letters that make up the correspondence of first, Nicholas Ridgely (1762-1830), long Chancellor of the State of Delaware; secondly, Henry Moore Ridgely (1779-1847), Secretary of State of Delaware, Congressman, and in 1827, elected United States Senator; and, lastly, the children (with two exceptions) of Senator Ridgely. Abstracts of the letters in the correspondence of his daughter Ann, who became the wife of Charles I. duPont, and in that of his son Nicholas, will be included in the third and final volume of the *Calendar*.

Considered as a whole and judged by the abstracts, the correspondence here calendared is largely of family interest, replete with accounts of illnesses, with complaints as to neglected letter-writing, and with bits of personal news concerning relatives and friends. The correspondence of the Chancellor is meagre and unimpressive by reason, certainly, of the reported destruction of the bulk of his papers. Of Senator Ridgely's letters, sent or received, comparatively few have more than a personal or family interest. The best of his letters, of somewhat broader appeal, are those which he wrote from Washington, D. C. More fresh and unrestrained are some of the letters of his children. Maryland readers will be interested, for example, in young Henry Ridgely's letters written while he was a student at St. Mary's College in Baltimore, from 1832 to 1836.

The editors have provided a wealth of interesting explanatory matter, historical and genealogical, for the guidance of the reader. The techniques of calendaring are duly maintained. One regrets, on the other hand, to find more cases of insufficient revision and of defective proofreading than should mark a volume on which so much labor has been spent.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

*The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 12, 1739-March 26, 1741.* Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1952, xi, 613 pp. \$12.50.

The reviewer of the first volume of this series (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII [March, 1952], 75-76) commented at length on editorial policy, but two additional remarks now seem in order. First of all, the continued and increased support of the State of South Carolina augurs well for the

\* The first volume was reviewed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (September, 1949), 213-215.

future of an excellent project. Second, the editor has added a brief "Explanation of the Index." This guide, explaining both the problems faced by the systematic indexer of official records kept by unsystematic clerks and the solution adopted for this index, will prove helpful to scholars using it as a research tool.

The dates of the volume coincide with the opening phases of the War of Jenkins' Ear in America. Since South Carolina, together with its new sister colony Georgia, lay close to the frontier of Spanish Florida, a good deal of the *Journal* is concerned with military measures. Unfortunately, South Carolina's costly participation in General Oglethorpe's abortive attacks on St. Augustine was only one "of a series of calamities. . . ." During these years, a slave uprising, an epidemic of smallpox, succeeded by another of yellow fever, and finally in November, 1740, a disastrous fire in Charles Town confronted the Assembly. Even more important than these difficulties were the problems of making representative institutions work in a frontier environment: the constant struggle of the Assembly to maintain a quorum, to deal simultaneously with provincial and local affairs, and even to make the public weal prevail over private will.

A brief review cannot do justice to the historical interest of this volume. The series as a whole will enrich the history, not only of South Carolina, but also of all 18th century America.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

*Colonial Williamsburg*

*Rag, Tag and Bobtail: The Story of the Continental Army 1775-1783.*

By LYNN MONTROSS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. 519 pp. \$5.

The 18th century, as Mr. Montross points out, was a diary-keeping, letter-writing age, and the American Revolution was, of course, something to write home about. "Even so, it is a matter for everlasting wonder that so many active participants . . . managed to keep a record. . . ." Mr. Montross's painstaking study of historical society publications has revealed dozens of them, diaries, letter-books, and journals, skillfully excerpted for this book. Of course none of his authors—privates and generals, Hessians, French, British, and the Americans of the title—wrote in a vacuum; all of them necessarily lacked perspective and partook of the inherent faults of eyewitnesses. They are all still human. That is exactly what makes them so fascinating—and so valuable—to read.

As in *The Reluctant Rebels*, Mr. Montross's primary sources are fine. His secondary preparation has—again—been less than commendable; he is still about a generation behind in his background reading. Only nine of the seventy-eight books listed as Supplementary Sources are less than twenty years old. This is pretty much like practising medicine with reference to nothing but last generation's teaching; readers of history no less than patients are entitled to benefit by knowledge brought up to date.



Perhaps—as would certainly seem from such map titles as “The Tarnished Victory,” “To the Last Ditch,” and, so help me, “Storm of Steel”—a scholarly contribution was not intended. Certainly the enthusiasm, readability, and human interest of *Rag, Tag and Bobtail* should have great popular appeal.

ELLEN HART SMITH

*Valley Forge: The Making of an Army.* By ALFRED HOYT BILL. New York: Harper, 1952. 259 pp. \$3.75.

General George Washington had not come to the command of the Continental Army very well prepared for a fighting war; his military experience had not compassed much fighting. The young man who had found “something charming in the sound” of the bullets at Great Meadows had had to cope more often with the problems of desertion, of insufficiencies in pay and clothing and medicines and food, of rivalry among officers, and of frustration from the authority set over him. As Mr. Bill says, “his youthful employment on the Virginia frontier had hardened [him] to endure the extremes of privation, fatigue, and anxiety.” It prepared him, specifically, for Valley Forge.

Washington is the hero of this piece, which may be controversial in spots. It is always thoughtful and often distinguished. Relating Valley Forge to its causative factors as well as its effect on the evolving army, Mr. Bill has produced an entertaining and a scholarly book. (His details are fascinating; General Knyphausen, for example, “had the intriguing habit of buttering his bread with his thumb. . . .”) Perhaps it is putting it rather strongly to say that Germantown “hardly less” than Saratoga brought about the French Alliance; but of Mr. Bill’s accounts of the Conway Cabal and the Battle of Monmouth—where there is so much room for comparison—there can be no discussion, only praise.

E. H. S.

*The Extraordinary Mr. Morris.* By HOWARD SWIGGETT. New York: Doubleday, 1952. xix, 483 pp. \$5.

Gouverneur Morris, too-long obscured by the giants of his generation, deserved a biography. Patriot, financier, constitution-framer, diplomat—Morris played important roles during the pregnant decades of the American and French Revolutions.

Mr. Swiggett collected much new material for this first major study of Morris. The result is a rich, detailed mosaic of people, events, and places. Morris usually knew the people, participated in the events, and was familiar with the places. Unfortunately, the author chose to include items

which are, at best, of peripheral interest to the main subject. Morris becomes less distinct as the focus wanders from him.

The picture of Morris also suffers from the author's unrhythmical style. Miniscule paragraphs supply inadequate transitions from successive episodes. Nor would this reviewer agree with all the conclusions which Mr. Swiggett draws. Morris seems no less an "aristocrat" because he shared the tolerant deistic religious leanings of his time (p. 43).

But *The Extraordinary Mr. Morris* offers positive returns. Its intimate inquiry into Morris' public life and private amours presents a vivid picture of revolutionary America and France. Mr. Swiggett has made an important contribution to the literature of our history by assigning to Gouverneur Morris the importance he deserves.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

Earlham College

*Origins of The New South, 1877-1913.* By C. VANN WOODWARD.

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1951. xv, 542 pp.

\$6.50. (Vol. IX, *A History of the South.*)

This book provides an interpretative framework for the history of the South from Reconstruction to the present day. It also signals the advance of its author to a position in the front rank of American historians. In a single year Professor Woodward has published two books which henceforth must be included in every list of basic works in American history. The first, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, was a by-product of the work reviewed here. It provided for the first time a convincing explanation of the inside negotiations that led to the seating of President Hayes as a result of the disputed election of 1876—a subject that has been almost as much disputed among historians since then as it was by politicians at the time. This book is summarized in Chapter II of the present volume and offers the essential clue to a convincing interpretation of the much longer period.

This interpretation, briefly and necessarily oversimplified in a review, is that during most of the period since the Civil War the control of the government and economic policy of the South has been largely in the hands of conservative leaders—using appeals to the Lost Cause and white supremacy to enforce conformity and cover their activities—who have been the willing henchmen of Northern industrial and financial interests. This program they sincerely believed to be only solution for the tremendous problems and handicaps to which the section was heir, but at the same time they took care to extract personal benefits from it, not only as office holders but as agents, attorneys, and directors of the business corporations that built factories and consolidated railway systems. In 1877 some of these men flirted with the idea of joining the Republican party. The emotional residue of the Civil War and its aftermath in the end made this

open avowal impractical for practical politicians, but otherwise their actions led directly toward the Byrd-Taft coalition that is such a potent force in the American Congress of the present day.

Although this book stresses economic and political developments, it by no means neglects other aspects of the New South. The same unobtrusive interpretation goes far to explain social and cultural trends. It is a book rich with sidelights on every phase of Southern life. The author has built on the solid foundation provided by his biography of *Tom Watson* in dealing with the Populist movement and shows that the tendency of historians to deal with it as primarily a phenomenon of the new West is unjustified. Both the general reader and the scholar will find the book a succession of newly opened vistas.

Until a generation or so ago the history of the ante-bellum South suffered distortion from a combination of Southern romanticism and Northern abolitionism until such realists as Dunning, Dodd, Phillips, and Owsley began to readjust the picture. Now such younger scholars as Woodward and his colleague in political science, V. O. Key (until recently also a member of the Johns Hopkins University faculty) — whose *Southern Politics in State and Nation* constitutes something of a comparison volume, have gone far to correct misconceptions of the more recent period. Although he has worked his way through a staggering quantity of manuscript, documentary, periodical and other material, Mr. Woodward by implication invites other scholars to pursue their researches farther in the field. There is no question that he has provided a map and a compass to guide their studies.

WOOD GRAY

*George Washington University*

*James Parton: the Father of Modern Biography.* By MILTON E. FLOWER. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1951. ix, 253 pp. \$4.50.

In what manner James Parton was "father of modern biography" is less than clear after concluding Professor Flower's account of his life, but presumably it is in the combination of journalistic techniques with scholarly research for reaching a popular reading level. Parton gained fame in the 19th century for his biographies of Horace Greeley, Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Benjamin Butler, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Voltaire. The biographies were widely praised for their readability, but it is also true that they were criticized for their lack of interpretation. They dealt more with the man than the issues of his times and brought the reader into contact with a personality instead of an intellect.

It is clear that Professor Flower has done an exhaustive amount of research on Parton's life, and either consciously or unconsciously has tried to imitate the style of his subject by presenting a genre kind of biography

with innumerable minutiae on Parton's daily living, not excluding the interior decoration details of Parton's study. The result is an internal biography of facts, full of repetition, bibliographical entries, and long quotations from letters which convey Parton's sentiments towards his friends. In fact, this reviewer found too much of the biography taken up with Parton's social life and benign statements about his felicity with family and friends while his role as "muckraker" and radical was passed over with perfunctory statements.

Professor Flower's biography will remain a useful compendium of information about Parton, but it throws little light on the history of the period in which Parton was so active. Those interested in Parton as a literary figure will find in this biography remarks that others made about Parton's work, but Professor Flower does not himself attempt to evaluate individual works and analyze Parton's influence in American literature. To say, as he does, that Parton "ranks high both as journalist and craftsman" is hardly satisfying to those who want to know more specifically how Parton was "father of modern biography." On the positive side, however, it can be said that Professor Flower has chosen a figure who has needed more attention, and has written his biography in a clear and simple style which is easy to read.

F. C. H.

*Conscripted City: The Story of Norfolk in World War II.* By MARVIN W. SCHLEGEL. Norfolk: Norfolk War History Commission, 1951. xi. 396 pp. \$3.

Since World War I Norfolk has been the home of numerous important installations of the United States Navy. Not always, however, have the city and the service existed in harmonious understanding. Many naval veterans still remember the extreme distaste with which they received Norfolk duty assignments and shamefacedly recollect the gob's designation of the town—an obscene epithet which a fifth-rate pulp magazine would censor. The feeling of Norfolk civilians for the Navy reflected an equal fervor. No respectable Norfolk girl would date a Navy enlisted man. Though the cash registers of business men merrily jingled to the tune of Navy money, their conservative owners eyed with distrust an organization which might well stow its gear and sail off almost overnight, as did the Headquarters of the United States Fleet in 1931. Local authorities frequently clashed with a national government agency over almost every service connected with urban living.

With such a background in mind one can easily imagine the strained relationships, frayed tempers and minor explosions which occurred when World War II caused the repeated and large-scale expansion of the naval operating base, the various training schools and the shipbuilding and repair facilities—to say nothing of additional national controls relative to

rent and price ceilings, rationing and civilian defense. Mass transportation, housing, labor supply, recreation, liquor regulation and vice control became urgent and often bitterly disputed problems which had to be solved. Because they were solved, both Norfolk and the Navy emerged from conflict wiser, friendlier, more cooperative and with better facilities for serving the people.

*Conscripted City* presents the detailed story of this change. Viewing his task in a detached manner, Dr. Schlegel has made his account inclusive, clear, well written and easily read. He has, perhaps, surpassed the previous high standards of Virginia's World War II history publication program.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

*Hibernian Crusade, the Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America.* By SISTER JOAN BLAND. Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1951. ix, 297 pp. \$3.

Sister Joan Bland's meticulously detailed study of the crusade for total abstinence within the American Catholic Church throws new light on the religio-political significance of the temperance movement in American history. The "Hibernian Crusade" antedated the movement which culminated in the 18th Amendment; indeed, the two movements had surprisingly little formal contact. Both in influence and numbers, the Catholic Total Abstinence Societies reached flood tide before the turn of the century and had receded and disappeared before the heyday of the Anti-Saloon League.

The Catholic crusade for total abstinence was fostered mainly by the Irish branch of the Church—in its early phase by missionary priests with an humanitarian enthusiasm for the moral improvement of their fellows and by later Church leaders because it tended to diminish bigotry on the part of non-Catholics. It gave Irish minorities, particularly in Eastern cities, a means of identifying themselves with their communities and making common cause with their Protestant neighbors against the saloon keeper and the drunkard. Its achievements were twofold and measurable: attitudes were transformed within the Church toward the "vice of intemperance" and without the Church toward Catholics.

Eventually, however, it provoked a controversy within the American Catholic Church, with its uneasy amalgam of diverse cultural elements, and the controversy hardened into conflict when the total abstainers ceased to be satisfied with a moral attack on the demand for liquor and sought to make a political attack on the supply. This raised the issue of human freedom; the Church decided in favor of freedom. There is a revealing insight into the natural limits of group activities within the framework of an authoritarian institution.

LOUISE M. YOUNG

*With Rod and Transit, The Engineering Career of Thomas S. McNair.* By JAMES B. MCNAIR. Los Angeles: The Author, 1951, xv, 263 pp.

*With Rod and Transit* gives proper recognition to a significant, but, beyond Pennsylvania, relatively unknown engineer who without fanfare and publicity contributed to the construction and operation of canals, railroads, reservoirs, and coal mines in the Appalachian regions of Pennsylvania through map making, surveying, levelling, sounding, and other technical means. Moreover, McNair devised certain instruments and techniques which improved the mining industry such as the McNair Inclined Standard Mine Transit. The book traces the life of engineer McNair from his birth in 1824 in Pennsylvania, through his formal education, his civic, political, and masonic life, his engineering career, to his retirement and removal to California where he died in 1901.

The author includes in his work much illustrative material and lists McNair's comparatively extensive engineering and masonic libraries. Footnotes to each chapter are in the back of the book. Incidentally, most of the material referred to is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The book is not indexed. The author, a scientist, does not attempt to make the work popular, and as a result the layman fails to see completely and appreciate fully Thomas S. McNair. Too, his chapters lack balance; for example, Chapter VII ("Engineering Career") is 126 pages while no other chapter exceeds twenty-five pages and two are less than ten pages in length. Despite these shortcomings, however, the work answers a felt need and is a significant addition to literature in the field of engineering and mining.

ROLAND C. MCCONNELL

*Morgan State College*

*The Daniels Family.* By JAMES HARRISON DANIELS, JR. Baltimore: The Author, 1952. 264 pp. \$5.

The compiler of this genealogy of the descendants of William Daniels of Dorchester and Milton, Mass., is not a genealogist by profession. In his preface to this book, the author describes the beginning of his interest in learning something about the history of his family. He recalls his personal visits to certain relatives in the Eastern States and finally his recourse to the services of a genealogist whose researches established the identification of his immigrant Daniels ancestor. With this as a beginning, the scope of the work expanded to include numerous other families that were descended from William Daniels, the immigrant to America.

The book is lavishly illustrated, including a "Daniels" coat of arms with crest and motto, taken from Burke's *General Armory* and Fox-Davies' *Families*. Heraldically described, it is as follows: *Argent, a pale fessily sable*. Unfortunately, the artist has depicted a *pale lozengy*, which is quite a different device altogether. Under the stringent rules which



govern heraldry in respect of the right to use and display armorial bearings, it is doubtful whether this particular Daniels family is entitled to use coat armor.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

*The Early Histories of St. Louis.* Edited by JOHN F. McDERMOTT. St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952. xi, 171 pp. \$4.

The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation exists primarily for the publication of books which deal with the history of St. Louis and the West. To achieve that purpose, John Francis McDermott, the president of the Foundation, has compiled an edition which consists of seven of the basic accounts of the history of the city during the first 97 years of its existence. Several which he has included were by local authors while the remainder were by travellers who visited the area and left their impressions of it. This book brings together in one place for the first time these sources, long out of print, and represents a significant contribution of original materials.

In his introduction, the editor acknowledges the great debt which the historians of his city owe to Auguste Chouteau "the patriarch of St. Louis." His narrative, claims McDermott, is most essential, for it contains the most complete account of the establishment to the town. The other sources are also of importance, but they too must rely to a great extent on Chouteau.

This volume which was made possible through the fund established by Joseph Desloge is a fine example of a local history. For his end pages the editor has reproduced an early map which greatly enhances the value of the book. He has also included an introductory essay on the historical comments which appeared before 1860, the date of the publication of Edwards' *Great West*. Among these he notes the thorough study made by the Baltimore historian, J. Thomas Scharf. There is also a documentary chronology of the city from 1764 to 1821 as well as a selected list of references all of which are very helpful. After reading this volume, one wonders why such a Foundation could not be attempted in Baltimore. Certainly the publication of the writings of historians and travelers about that city could be just as valuable a contribution to local history as the present edition is to St. Louis.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Library of Congress*

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### OTTO SUTRO AND MUSIC IN BALTIMORE \*

When, a good many years ago, I studied what my school called American history, I did so quite unaware that what I was expected to learn was only a part of that important subject. It was not until the approach of adult years that I realized the variety and interest of another sort of history—the history of culture, under which rather broad term I include besides the fine arts the history of tastes and ideas, the histories of science and business, even the record of such social trends and currents as we call, often with undue condescension, popular.

A great element in the usefulness of local historical societies such as ours is their devotion to this larger history—to the garnering and preserving of information about all aspects of a community's life, using material objects as well as manuscripts and printed sources.

We have met this afternoon to accept and discuss a particular contribution to our memorabilia of an interesting period in our City's history—that is, the quarter of a century following the war years of 1861-1865. In that period the larger cities to the north were swept into a surge of economic expansion in which they exploited new wealth above and under the ground in the fabulous commercial empire that awaited them in the West. New York City, already the unchallenged financial metropolis, speedily became a cultural center to which persons of wealth and leisure naturally gave preference. A contemporary estimate asserts that in 1875 not less than fifty-thousand visitors came to New York, many of them to spend the entire winter season. Meanwhile Washington leveled military barracks and hospitals, paved its muddy streets, and moved into a renaissance that made it not only the national capital but also a national social center.

To Baltimore a share in these gains in wealth and national prestige was denied by unique circumstances. From 1790 to 1860 its growth had been spectacular, carrying it from a town of less than 14,000 inhabitants to a thriving port of 212,000; Baltimore was, as Mr. Gerald Johnson has called it, "the financial, commercial, and social capital of the South." It had, however, the fate to be a border city in the strife between the sections, a house sharply divided in the war years and in those directly following the peace; and it suffered both material and spiritual damage from the ex-

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\* Remarks of Dr. John C. French at the opening of the Society's "Sutro-Wednesday Club" Room, February 23, 1952.

perience. This was our city's dark age, a time, to quote Mr. Johnson again, of "lethargy and physical deterioration."

Immediately after the peace her chief citizens recognized a two-fold task: to lift up the prostrate South, which it undertook generously by an immense relief fair that raised nearly \$165,000, and by an Agricultural Aid Society, that restocked ruined farms; and second, to find a restored civic unity. How it accomplished this latter task is a remarkable story.

It is nothing to wonder at that these years of painful readjustment should be remembered as the dreariest economic period in our history; but that they should also be the years of a notable flowering of cultural activity, particularly in music, is little short of amazing. By an impulse of resolute provincialism the citizens depended on neither metropolis nor capital city but on themselves; and found their own resources fruitful. Diverse elements shared in the effort: the numerous singing societies, which, in what were certainly hard times, had the courage to build and open for use the Concordia Opera House in 1866 and three years later to promote an elaborate national *saengerfest* in Schuetzen Park; the far-seeing citizens who gave the City Ford's Opera House and the capacious Academy of Music; the trustees of the Peabody Institute, who, when they prepared to open in 1868 what they then called an academy of music, determined in advance that it should not be merely a school for the elementary instruction of young ladies and in 1871 had the courage to call as its director the Danish composer Asger Hamerik; and finally those lovers of good music who united to promote the performance of the great oratories and formed in the early eighties an incorporated Oratorio Society.

With full recognition of these and other groups, we turn this afternoon to the memory of one man who shared actively in many of the efforts which I have mentioned and whom we now recall specifically as the father of the Wednesday Club.

The Wednesday Club has been well described by Professor Charles R. Anderson, editor of the definitive edition of Sidney Lanier's works, as "a brilliant association of amateurs in music and dramatics that for more than a decade played a leading part in the cultural life of the City." Its founder, as also of the Oratorio Society, was Otto Sutro, whom our meeting today commemorates.

He was born in Aachen February 24, 1833, the son of Emmanuel and Rosa (Waredorf) Sutro. When as a child he showed evidence of talent in music his parents encouraged him and later enabled him to study at the Conservatory of Music in Brussels. He graduated with honors at the age of seventeen; and members of his family having previously come to Baltimore, he followed, arriving in February, 1851. The City Directory first mentions his name in 1858 and in that year describes him as a professor of music. Here also he was a church organist, playing in the choir loft of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church.

In 1868 he opened at 189 West Baltimore Street a store devoted to music and musical instruments, including Chickering pianos. This store so prospered and expanded its activities and resources as to be in the front

rank of such establishments in the United States. When I came to Baltimore more than sixty years ago, I soon understood that Sutro's was synonymous with things musical.

In 1869 he married a Miss Handy of Mississippi and his bachelor quarters, for ten years a meeting place on Wednesday evenings for a group of his friends to whom "Wednesday Evenings at Sutro's" was a familiar phrase, were abandoned for a home on Lexington Street; and the group promptly organized itself into a club. Otto Sutro, a leader in matters musical and the center of a great circle of friends, died in 1896 on January 19. So ended a chapter in our cultural history.

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#### OTTO SUTRO \*

After an absence of many years, mainly abroad, as the first "Duo Pianists," Rose and Otilie Sutro returned to their native town to place on record the nearly fifty years of their father's activities in the musical and cultural development of Baltimore. This was suggested by Mr. Clinton L. Riggs, then President of the Maryland Historical Society, Messrs. B. Howell Griswold, George May, and other prominent friends.

Mr. Sutro came to Baltimore in 1851 and immediately was appointed to important church positions as organist. His bachelor reunions continued for eleven consecutive years, evolved into the famous amateur music and dramatic Wednesday Club, which built its own club house. He founded and expanded the Otto Sutro Music House, and it became the most comprehensive one in the United States. He organized the Oratorio Society of Baltimore which gave yearly performances and annual May Festivals on a large scale. He created a Wagner Society for the better appreciation and understanding of the great master's dramatic works. By sponsoring musical and artistic events and encouraging aspiring young talent, his name soon became a household word.

Mr. Sutro's colleagues, all of whom his daughters had known since childhood, were no more, but their widows and descendants, many of whom had taken part in Club affairs were living. Their reminiscences, anecdotes, photographs and programs, added to Mrs. Sutro's, made it possible to complete an authentic and comprehensive history of the Club.

A provision in the will of Mrs. Otto Sutro made possible the equipping of the Sutro-Wednesday Club Room, in the Maryland Historical Society, one of the most artistic and interesting in the building, dedicated February 23 last, for the 100th anniversary of Mr. Sutro's coming to Baltimore. A detailed description is being prepared.

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\* This note was supplied by the Misses Sutro.

## HUGH JONES, COLONIAL ENIGMA

The Library has recently acquired a manuscript on the problem of the several clergymen by the name of Hugh Jones found in Colonial Maryland. The Reverend Herbert Leswing, rector of Trinity Church, Elkton, submitted this dissertation toward the degree of Master of Theology at the [Episcopal] Divinity School in Philadelphia.

Several authorities have attacked this problem previously, namely the Rev. Ethan Allen in his *Clergy in Maryland*, Hope Barroll in *Barrolls in Great Britain and America*, Gerald Fothergill in *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811*, Armistead G. Gordon in "Hugh Jones" in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Grace Warren Lendrum in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, January, 1950, and others who depended on these writers. Unfortunately, instead of solving the problem, each in turn has created a whole set of new inconsistencies. The Rev. Mr. Leswing has examined these articles, compared them with new sources available, mostly in the Hall of Records in Annapolis, and has produced what seems to this writer the most satisfactory answer to the confusion of names yet to appear.

Colonial Maryland seems to have been largely inhabited by men named Hugh Jones. The colonial records contain material which appears to have belonged to at least six of that name. Of these, three at least were clergymen of the Church of England and there has been considerable confusion about them.

This brief review cannot contain all the detailed evidence which Mr. Leswing has garnered, but he has proved that the first Reverend Hugh Jones came to Maryland in 1695 and became rector of Christ Church, Calvert County. He was interested in natural history, sent several collections of fossils to England, and had quite a correspondence with Englishmen and Welshmen. He had two brothers, the Rev. Richard of Llanelian in Englesey, and John, a schoolmaster at Llandeilo-tal-y-bont, South Wales. His will and inventories, preserved in the Hall of Records, show him to have been rector of Christ Church, Calvert County, and to have been dead by September, 1702.

The second Reverend Hugh Jones (Leswing numbers them 1, 2, and 3 on the basis of their advent to Maryland) is one of the causes of confusion for he succeeded the Rev. Hugh Jones (1) in the same parish of Christ Church, Calvert County. The records prove conclusively that he came to Maryland in February, 1700/01, and his will, also found in the Hall of Records, shows him to have been rector of Christ Church, Calvert County, to have signed the will July 25, 1702, and to have had a different executor whose inventories show that he, too, carried out the provisions of the will.

Hugh Jones (3) of Cecil County (who should not be confused with either Hugh Jones (1) or Hugh Jones (2) as has been done previously by most writers on the subject) did not come to Maryland directly from Great Britain, but was for a time in Virginia as an instructor in William and Mary College and later as rector of a Virginia church. He does not

appear in Maryland records until 1726 and was not ordained priest until 1716. In a deposition taken in 1740 he certified that he was 49 years of age at the time. His will, signed a week before his death, is dated 1760. So that his age at the time of his death was not 91, as Allen and others who follow him have affirmed, but rather 69, a reasonably old age for those times.

Students of Maryland colonial history will be in Mr. Leswing's debt for years to come for his careful collection of available data on these three men and for his analysis of that material. This is the latest word on the subject, and requires that all previous material dealing with any Reverend Hugh Jones in Colonial Maryland be re-analyzed.

NELSON RIGHTMYER,  
St. John's Church, Worthington Valley

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#### THE REVEREND PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN AND SUSAN LE ROY OTTERBEIN

Philip William Otterbein was Born June 3, 1726, at Dillenburg, Germany, in what is now the Prussian Administrative District of Weisbaden. He was the fourth of ten children of Johann Daniel and Wilhelmina Henrietta (Hoerlen) Otterbein and the elder of a pair of twins. He died in Baltimore, November 17, 1813. His father, grandfather, and five brothers were ministers. He was educated at the Reformed Seminary at Herborn where the calvinistic theological atmosphere was mollified somewhat by pietistic strains. On June 13, 1749, he was ordained as vicar of Ockersdorf, succeeding one of his brothers. His evangelical zeal and strictness were disliked by his superiors.

When Michael Schlatter went to Herborn to recruit missionaries for work in Pennsylvania, Otterbein was encouraged to volunteer. An incident connected with his mission is that one of his brothers, also a minister, received a letter from York County, pleading for people as sheep scattered in the wilds of the new world without a shepherd. He showed it to William and his mother, whereupon the pious woman, taking her son by the hand, said with as much fervor as a Spartan mother, "Go, my son and the Lord keep thee and bless thee, we may never meet again, but go." Having agreed, he set out for Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the synod of North and South Holland, arriving in New York, July 28, 1752.<sup>1</sup>

Later in the same year, he became pastor of the First Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where his wonderful missionary spirit and powerful oratory were rewarded by having many eloquent laymen preach and exhort his doctrines. These new measures, borrowed from English Methodists, aroused opposition among the conservative members of his

<sup>1</sup> John Gibson, *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (1886), p. 386.



own and other churches.<sup>2</sup> This antagonism may have been the reason for his leaving Lancaster in 1758 to accept other pastorates in the following places: Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania (1758-1760); Frederick (1760-1768); York, Pennsylvania (1768-1774); and the Second Evangelical Reformed Church in Baltimore (1774-1813).<sup>3</sup>

The Reformed Church in Baltimore soon possessed two congregations. The First, organized in 1756, worshipped in a building long known as the town clock church; while the Second, erected in 1786, on Conway near Sharp Street, a brick church that is the only 18th century public building of any note left standing in Baltimore. To this latter church came the Reverend Philip William Otterbein as pastor in 1774. He was a man of evangelical fervor who adopted many of the Methodist methods, but the bar of language was sufficient to prevent him or his followers from entering the Methodist Church. His followers and those of Martin Boehm (born in Lancaster, November 20, 1725; died March 23, 1812) met near Frederick in 1800 and organized a new denomination, the United Brethren in Christ.<sup>4</sup> The first Bishops of the new denomination were Otterbein and Boehm.

Philip William Otterbein married on April 19, 1762, at the First Reformed Church in Lancaster, Susan Le Roy of that city, whose sister, a few years later, married John William Hendel. His wife's death, April 22, 1768, was a grievous loss, and he never remarried. While the essential facts of Otterbein's life and career are readily accessible, little is known of Susan Le Roy Otterbein. She was a daughter of Abraham Le Roy who arrived in Philadelphia, in 1754.<sup>5</sup> The proof of her parentage is found in Intestate Records of Lancaster County, Miscellaneous Book, 1763-1767, pages 73 and 74, wherein, at Orphans' Court, held May 9, 1764, her eldest brother, Abraham Le Roy, Jr., petitioned the Court for a settlement of his father's estate stating that Abraham Le Roy, of Heidelberg Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was of Huguenot descent; died intestate prior to March 5, 1763; wife was Anna Maria Le Roy and named all of his children. One was Susan Maria Le Roy, wife of William Otterbein, founder of the United Brethren Church.

Another confirmation is found in the will of Abraham Le Roy, Jr., dated February 9, 1765; probated February 25, 1765, on record in Will Book, B, Vol. 1, page 545, also in Lancaster. This is a long will, so only pertinent facts will be quoted: "One share to my sister Susanna Oderbein, wife of William Oderbein. Item: I order and direct that the remainder of my estate, both here in the Province of Pennsylvania and in De Soncebozen Erquel Evêches de Basle en Suisse and elsewhere be divided into four parts. . . . Power of Attorney or whatever may be necessary to

<sup>2</sup> *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, X, 504, XXI, 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Missionaries in Puerto Rico call it "Hermanos Unidos in Christo." See B. C. Steiner, "Maryland's Religious History," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI (1926), 16.

<sup>5</sup> Strassburger and Heinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, I, 631-634.

settle my estate in Switzerland." Executor—Paul Weitzel; Executrix—Sister Salomea Le Roy.\*

In order to indicate where this family came from before landing at Philadelphia, the following is quoted:

"Another family of Le Roy, of the Elector of Bayeux, whose nobility has been authentically recognized at different epochs, first by the decision by the Cour des Aides, of March, 1494, and next in 1666. It furnished a great number of officers of all ranks, and of Chevaliers of Saint Louis. As a result of the wars of religion, one of its members, having embraced Protestantism, was constrained to take refuge in Switzerland to escape persecution directed against his and other members of his religion. The proof which this house furnished in 1737, before d'Hozier, Judge of Arms of France, seems to take descent to Gilbert le Roy, Equerry. He is the known author of the three branches of the family which are known: That of Seigneurs d'Amegny—extinct about 1720; that of Le Roys de Gue, extinct as of 1760 and that of the Lords of Sonceboz, in Switzerland, which has continued until our days. This branch had for its author; Jacques Le Roy, Equerry, the fourth son of Charles, Lord of Amigny and of Marie de Champgrin. He took refuge in Switzerland to escape religious persecution and left five sons, whose posterity still exists in our day. The head of the house is known as Ulysse le Roy." †

Jean Jacques Le Roy, arrived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the *Phoenix*, November 22, 1752. He was killed by Delaware Indians, October 16, 1755. His daughter Anna Maria Le Roy was captured by Indians, escaped, and after her marriage, with her husband, gave Power of Attorney to a friend to collect their share of an estate in the Dominion of the Bishop of Basel, Switzerland.‡

ROBERT M. TORRENCE,  
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### AN OLD HOUSE FADES AWAY

Maryland's remaining Colonial buildings were reduced by one more when "Widow's Neglect" on the Defense Highway, west of Lanham, was demolished late in 1951. There were probably as many as 5,000 of these old places built under the English flag still standing at the turn of the century; today, about 20% of that figure remain. Fire, no doubt, has been the most destructive force and, considering frame construction and lack of fire protection equipment, the wonder is that so many of these old places still exist. Disinterest, too, has taken its toll and in more recent

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\* *Eagle's Notes and Queries* (1900), 233.

† *Nobilaire de Pays-Bas*, II, 453.

‡ J. B. Linn, *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, pp. 8-10.

years the bull-dozer has spearheaded the onward rush of urban life into once rural areas.

"Widow's Neglect" is believed to have been built about 1757 on land originally patented by Ninean Beall (died 1717 at the age of 92) whose vast acreage extended, it is conservatively estimated, from Upper Marlboro to Georgetown. As originally constructed, "Widow's Neglect" extended considerably further east in a long, low, one-story wing.\* This telescopic style was its approximate form when it was acquired by the Downes family at the time of the Civil War. Before the turn of the century this wing was removed and some forty years ago the entire remaining structure was all but lost to sight by the construction of a large frame house joined to the former structure at its earlier front door. Residents of the area knew that it still existed, of course, but others travelling east or west on Route 50 passed it by without a glance, unless it was to admire the towering evergreens that then surrounded the newer home.

Architecturally, the original building had little to commend it, other than its curious free-standing chimneys of fieldstone topped with brick. Several homes in the Bowie vicinity are of this same construction and the fabulous "Montpelier" has cellar walls of red fieldstone, but for the most part the Colonial builder in this area used brick for his masonry. Perhaps an occasional outcropping of shale in valued pasture lands was gathered for the dual purpose of clearing tillable soil and saving the expense of firing brick beyond the requirements of bare necessity. "Widow's Neglect" in its last days still boasted both random width siding and the more sophisticated weatherboarding of beaded edge and uniform exposure. Both types were indigenous to early Maryland and a number of superb examples still remain, sometimes in combination as was done here.

The interior of "Widow's Neglect" was plain and undistinguished unless it was the narrow, delicate walnut handrail of the stairway and the deeply-worn treads of the steps. Probably never a home of wealth, it reflected the handwork of artisans who created substantially, rather than artistically. There must have been a time when this was the only home of any note between the port of Bladensburg and the magnificent Governor's house at "Belair." Others followed, some still remaining today to form a fairly concentrated group of noteworthy examples of early Maryland building. "Widow's Neglect," though, is nearly gone: ironically, a new owner wished to erect a warehouse on its site and utilize what materials were re-usable.

JAMES C. WILFONG, JR.,  
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\* A sketch floor plan and several photographs are available in the Library of the Society.

## WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN MARYLAND

Edited by WILLIAM B. MARYE \*

## JOURNEY PROUD

The editor of these notes is informed by Mr. H. Findlay French that this expression, which means a state of mind induced by the prospect of going on a journey, was in regular use in his family, that is, it was used by his mother, the late Mrs. George Ross French, and by her sisters, the Misses Findlay. In my experience it was used by one person only, the late Mrs. Josiah Wilson (earlier Mrs. William Green), of West Annapolis and Odenton, Maryland.

## IVY, FOR MOUNTAIN LAUREL

It has already been brought out that the use of the word "Ivy" for *Kalmia* or mountain laurel, which was at one time very extensive in this state, is now confined to our oldest county, Saint Mary's. I have pointed out that the first known name for Long Green Run, Baltimore County, was *Ivy Run*. This name will be found in several old 1720 leases of lands within the bounds of "Gunpowder Manor," including "Fuller's Forest" and "Gittins' Choice." A tract of land called "*Ivy Hills*" was surveyed for Charles Carroll & Co. in November, 1753. This land is situated in the city of Baltimore, across Mount Royal Terrace. A survey called "Skeeman's Venture," made for one George Skeeman, 16 February, 1716, calls for "*two little Ivy hills*." This land lies on the west side of Gwinn's Falls, a short distance below Wilkins Avenue. These examples are reported in order to reinforce my theory that *ivy* was once the common word for laurel in Baltimore County.

## MOCCASIN, FOR SUNFISH

The final word on this subject has been received from Mr. Romeo Mansueti, Biologist, of the Department of Research and Education, Solomons, Maryland, in a letter addressed to the editor of these notes, bearing date, January 19, 1952:

"I have not seen your article on names of Maryland fishes and animals that appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, but I believe that you had not obtained the correct identification to the colloquial name 'moccasin' as applied to a certain fish at the Head of the Bay. Since I supplied the names to Dr. Truitt, which were ultimately sent to you, of the various fish names employed in your article, I became very interested in tracking down their correct identification. I am positive that the name 'moccasin' refers to the common pumpkinseed or sunfish, *Lepomis*

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\* See earlier contributions by the author on this subject in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (June, 1951), 124-136, and *ibid.*, (December, 1951), 318-232.

*Gibbosus*, and the redbelly or longear sunfish, *Lepomis amicus*. When I seined for fish in the Northeast River, one old-timer looked at pumpkin-seeds in my net and called them 'moccasins.' Since the redbelly sunfish is rather scarce at the Head of the Bay, the name is probably better applied to the pumpkinseed, although when I checked the literature, I found that two scientists who collected fish at the Head of the Bay (Radcliffe and Welsh, 1917, Proc. Biol. Soc. Wash., 30: 35-42) discovered that both species of sunfishes mentioned above were called 'moccasins'."

We are deeply indebted to Dr. Mansueti for this identification, and we are also obliged to him for the fact that the sunfish is called a "moccasin" in Northeast River, Cecil County. We have already brought out the fact of the use of the word in Spesutia Narrows and Swan Creek, Harford County.

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#### PARKER PRIZES FOR GENEALOGY

The officers and staff of the Society have found great satisfaction in the signal success of the Parker genealogical prize contests. Mrs. Sumner Parker instituted the annual contest in 1946. The stimulation given to careful genealogical research has been considerable and the genealogies entered in the contests have added materially to the Society's collections. It is expected that future results will be as beneficial to participants and the Society.

Winners of the 1951 contest were Miss Louise P. Jenkins of New York, first Prize (\$25), for genealogy, "John Hillen II, A Few Ancestors and Descendants" and Mrs. Jere Williams Lord of Baltimore, Second Prize (\$15), for charts of the Pope and Scharf families.

Entries for the 1952 contest must be received not later than December 31, 1952.

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*New Publications*—The National Historical Publications Commission is assembling materials for two publications that will be of much interest to Marylanders. One will consist of documents that provide information about the ratification of the Constitution of the United States and the first ten amendments by Maryland and other states, and the second publication will contain documents that throw light on the work of the first Congress under the Constitution, 1789-91. The Commission wishes to publish not only the official records and newspaper accounts of these two outstanding developments in the history of our Nation but also extracts from contemporary letters, diaries, and other personal papers that contain pertinent information.

Marylanders who took an active part in the contest over the ratification of the Constitution were Samuel Chase, William Dorsey, Robert Goldsborough, Alexander C. Hanson, William Hemsley, Thomas Johnson,

Thomas Sim Lee, Edward Lloyd, James McHenry, Luther Martin, John Mercer, William Paca, William Pinkney, George Plater, Richard Potts, Moses Rawlings, and many others.

Maryland's Senators in the first Federal Congress were John Henry and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and her Representatives in the House were Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Contee, George Gale, Joshua Seney, William Smith, and Michael Jenifer Stone.

The Commission will greatly appreciate information about and an opportunity to obtain copies of unpublished correspondence or other papers of any of the above named persons or of other persons that provide any information about the ratification of the Constitution and the first ten amendments and the work of the first Federal Congress. Communications should be addressed to Philip M. Hamer, Executive Director, National Historical Publications Commission, National Archives Building, Washington 25, D. C.

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*Early American History Prize*—An annual prize of \$500 is offered for a published book on some phase of early American history and culture (American history to 1815, including borderlands of the British North American colonies and British colonies in the West Indies to 1776) by the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. The first award will be made in May, 1952, for a book published during 1952.

The Institute has also announced that a number of Grants-in-Aid to those with studies already in progress in the field of American history to 1815 are available for 1953-54.

Details may be secured from the Director of the Institute, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Va.

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*Chesapeake Bay Vessels*—Mr. Richard H. Randall, a member of the Committee on the Maritime Museum, is compiling a list of types of commercial sailing vessels that have been used on the Bay. He welcomes suggestions for the list which in due course will be available for use in the Library.

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*Harman Family Reunion*—A successful picnic and organization meeting of the Anne Arundel Harmans was held on June 15. Philip Stanley Harman of Elkridge is president of the new association. Information about future activities can be obtained from him or from Mr. W. Gray Harman, 815 Plainfield, N. J., who holds the office of Historian.

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The *American Name Society* was recently organized for the purpose of encouraging the study of place names, personal names, and scientific and commercial nomenclature. Publication of a quarterly journal is planned.



Further information may be obtained from Mr. Elsdon C. Smith, 322 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill.

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*Progressive School*—Sir John Augustus Foster, British diplomat in the U. S. (1804-12) refers in his "Notes" to a progressive school for little boys at which flogging was not permitted in Annapolis. Any information concerning the school will be appreciated by the editor who will communicate it to Prof. Richard Beale Davis of the University of Tennessee who is preparing a definitive edition of the "Notes."

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*Davis, David*—Desire information concerning Davis' life in Cecil Co. 1815-30. Subsequently he moved to Illinois, was Associate Justice of U. S. Supreme Court (1862-77) and U. S. Senator (1877-83).

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WILLARD L. KING,  
105 West Monroe Street, Chicago 3, Ill.

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*Preston*—Information concerning Captain Thomas Preston and his descendants will be deeply appreciated. He presumably came to Baltimore County from Ireland about the year 1650. His wife was Sarah Hews, heiress of Joseph Hews. His immediate descendants are understood to have intermarried with the Scott, Gilbert, Miles and Ruff families.

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HOMER E. CARRICO,  
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Tex.

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*Jannus*—Information requested concerning Anthony ("Tony") Jannus (1889-1916), pioneer aviator who flew in Md. on several occasions. His father was Frankin Jannus, a patent attorney.

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EARL PRUCE,  
3805 Oakford Ave., Baltimore.

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*Burgess*—Wanted maiden name and parentage of Ursula, third wife of Col. William Burgess (1622-1686) south River, A. A. Co. and first wife of Dr. Mordecai Moore, (Will probated Oct. 29, 1721) also of South River. Ursula's will probated June 30, 1702. Mackenzie's *Colonial Families*, II, 342, gives her maiden name as *Puadington* and VI, 363, as *Gordon*, parentage not given in either case. Which, if either, is correct?

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Miss LOUISE E. LEWIS,  
1455 E. 54th St., Chicago, Ill.

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*Tudor Hall and Philip Key*—Mrs. J. Dawson Reeder of Baltimore points out that Philip Key I settled in St. Mary's Co. as early as 1725 rather than "about 1749" as stated in Miss Poole's article on Tudor Hall in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (Dec., 1951), 274. Mrs. Reeder's ancestor, Charles Ashcomb, appointed Key his executor in his will (Lib. 19, f. 127, Hall of Records) in 1725.

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*Washington College*—In connection with a projected history of the College, desire information and pertinent documents that may be copied, especially for the earlier years.

CHARLES B. CLARK,  
Washington College, Chestertown.

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#### COMPREHENSIVE GOLDSBOROUGH GENEALOGY

One of the most complete genealogical compilations ever received by the Society was presented a few years ago by Mr. Charles B. Goldsborough of New York. It consists of six volumes of legal size typescript, totaling thousands of pages devoted to the Goldsborough family of Maryland. The author was the late Eleanora Goldsborough Winter (Mrs. Charles B. Goldsborough, Sr.).

Starting with the earliest English records relating to the family, and including also lines derived from Continental Europe, Mrs. Goldsborough has brought the family down to the present generation, itself a considerable tribe. In its practical organization, clarity of presentation, and excellence of form, this work is scarcely excelled in its field. Competent judges say that it is a marvel of accuracy and completeness. The Society is happy to give this belated statement of its appreciation of this useful work.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

MR. PANCAKE, of the University of Alabama faculty, has written a life of Samuel Smith for publication in book form. ☆ MR. LEISENRING, a Washington architect, was in charge of recent work at Tulip Hill. ☆ Long a student of 17th century Maryland records, MR. BEITZELL expects to publish his book, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, next year. ☆ MISS WOLF, who teaches American history in a Peoria, Illinois, high school, is the author of *On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Concept in the Abolition Movement*, to be published by the University of Wisconsin Press next month. ☆ Now associated with the Joseph Katz Company, MR. FIELDING is a native of Nottingham, England, and for three years was a feature writer for the *Sunday Sun*.

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## First Steamboat on the Chesapeake

On the morning of June 12, 1813, the following advertisement appeared in the **FEDERAL GAZETTE AND BALTIMORE ADVERTISER**:

The steamboat *Chesapeake*, Edward Trippe, master, will leave the lower end of Bowley's Wharf on Sunday morning next, the 13th inst., at 8 o'clock precisely, for Annapolis and return in the evening. Passage, one dollar here and the same back. A cold dinner will be provided on board.

Thus, the first steamboat on the Chesapeake was put in service between Baltimore and Frenchtown at the head of the bay. We were at war with England and, as a sideline, the *Chesapeake* took curious Baltimoreans out for a closer look at the blockading British fleet lying below Baltimore. The *Chesapeake's*

engine was installed and probably built by Charles Reeder, Sr., a 26-year-old Philadelphia machinist. There were no machine works here at that time.

Reeder saw his opportunity and promptly opened his own Baltimore business. By the end of the war in 1815 his reputation was so well established that he was engaged to construct the engines for the steamers "Norfolk" and "Virginia", the first marine engines made at this port.

Reeder made many important contributions to the development of marine and railroad engines and pioneered in safety devices. He died in 1855, at the age of 68. Probably his proudest moment was the day the little *Chesapeake* pulled away from Bowley's wharf to make steamboat history on the bay.

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